GAORISHANKAR UDAYASHANKAR, C.S.I.,

OF

BHAVNAGAR

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GAORISHANKAR UDAYASHANKAR, C.S.I.,

EX-MINISTER OF BHAVNAGAR,

NOW IN RETIREMENT AS A SANYÁSI.

BY

JAVERILAL UMIASHANKAR YÁJṆIK.

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Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime;
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time.

LONGFELLOW.

यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठस्तत्तदेवेतरो जनः ।
स यत्प्रमाणं कुरुते लोकस्तदनुवर्तते ॥

भगवद्गीता, अ० ३, श्लो० २१

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

For some time past it has been felt by the friends of Mr. Gaorishankar, European as well as Native, that it would be desirable to have some record of his life and work. In compliance with this desire, I undertook to compile a short account of him from such materials as were available to me. These were not so full and ample as I could have desired. They were wanting in that essential element which gives its chief interest to a work of biography, namely, private correspondence. On this account nobody is more sensible than I am of the imperfect nature of the present sketch, and my only reason for permitting its publication is that it is better to have some record, however wanting in fulness, of the work done by the first living statesman of Kathiawad, now in retirement as a Sanyasi, than to have none at all. Since writing this sketch, however, I am glad to say that my friends, Messrs. Vajeshankar and Prabhashankar, the two worthy sons of Mr. Gaorishankar, have, at my suggestion, undertaken to arrange systematically the whole of the correspondence, records, and papers, in English and Gujarati, which are in the possession of the family, and may serve to elucidate the career of their illustrious father. With such materials, properly arranged, it may be possible to present a fuller biography of Mr. Gaorishankar than is here attempted.

JAVERILAL U. YAJNIK.

41, *Cowasji Patel Tank Road:*
Bombay, 23rd February 1889.

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GAORISHANKAR ÚDAYASHANKAR, C.S.I.,

OF

BHAVNAGAR.

CHAPTER I.

Mr. GAORISHANKAR ÚDAYASHANKAR, C. S. I., the venerable ex-Dewan of Bhavnagar, holds a high place in the roll of distinguished Native Ministers who, by their successful administration of Native States, have earned for themselves a character for statesmanship. He has been to Bhavnagar what the late Nawab Sir Salar Jung was to Hyderabad, what Sir T. Madav Rao was to Travancore, Indore, and Baroda, and Sir Dinkar Rao to Gwalior,—one who evolved order out of chaos, and raised the territory he administered to the position of a first-class Native State. An account of Mr. Gaorishankar's life is, in fact, the history of Bhavnagar for the last

fifty years, from the time it held an insignificant position to the period when it occupies the foremost place in Kathiawad. His life and career are inseparably blended with the history of Kathiawad from the time when the authority of the Peishwa had terminated and the British Government had just stepped into his place, when disorder and lawlessness had distracted the Province, to the period when the British power became paramount, and the civilizing agencies of road and railway communications, orderly government, and education began to work out their results in increasing the peace and prosperity of Kathiawad. Every Governor of Bombay, from Mountstuart Elphinstone down to His Excellency Lord Reay, who has visited Kathiawad, has had an opportunity of knowing Mr. Gaorishankar and learning from his own lips many matters relating to the condition of the Province. And no Governor has, it seems, returned to Bombay without feeling that he had learnt from the experienced Minister something that was useful—something for which he should feel grateful—something which carried the listener back to the period when a school of

British Officers, by a wise and sympathetic policy, founded the Empire on a basis of secure and permanent rule amongst alien races, whose views, habits, customs, and religions were different from those of the ruling class. Lord Reay has given his impressions of Mr. Gaorishankar when on a visit to Bhavnagar in December 1886. Addressing His Highness the Thakor Saheb of Bhavnagar on the occasion of the opening of the Sámaldás College, His Excellency remarked:—"With your Highness's permission I paid to that distinguished administrator an official visit yesterday, thereby showing the importance attached by the British Government and its representatives to able and wise Dewans in Native States. Certainly, of all the happy moments it has been my good fortune to spend in India, those which I spent in the presence of that remarkable man remain engrafted on my memory. I was struck as much by the clearness of his intellect as by the simplicity and fairness and openness of his mind; and if we admire wise administrators, we also admire straightforward advisers—those who tell their Chiefs the real truth about the condi-

tion of their country and their subjects. In seeing the man who freed this State from all encumbrances, who restored civil and criminal jurisdiction to those villages, who settled your disputes with Junaghad, who got rid of refractory Jemadars, I could not help thinking what could be done by singleness of purpose and strength of character."

Mr. Gaorishankar was born on the 21st August 1805 at Gogo, a British seaport town, about ten miles from Bhavnagar. He belongs to the caste of Vadnagar Nágar Brahmans—a caste which has shown through many centuries instinctive aptitude for political employment. "Nagars," we are told,* "have played a distinguished part in Kathiawad politics. They are astute, pushing, and fond of power, and have gained and kept a leading influence in some of the larger courts. In the end of last century, Amerji, a Nágar of Mangrol, was all-powerful in Junagad, and his sons succeeded him when he was assassinated." Again, we are informed that "in the time of the Marathas, a Nágar family succeeded in entering the circle of the landed

* See *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII., Kathiawar, page 144.

aristocracy of Kathiawad by acquiring the estate of Vesavar from the Kathis. Members of this class are found in almost every State, in Government employ, and as pleaders. In every department their shrewdness and intelligence stand them in good stead."* Mr. Gaorishankar's father, though descended of a good and respectable family, was not in affluent circumstances. His mother died when he was only eighteen months old. He received such elementary instruction in his native tongue—Gujaráti—as could be had in the indigenous schools of his time. Possessed, however, of quick natural parts and a good memory, it was not long before he attained the average standard of education in his time.

About the period when Mr. Gaorishankar was born, the paramount authority over the whole Province of Kathiawad was being exercised by the Gaekwad of Baroda by virtue (1) of his own rights of levying tribute on those parts of the Province which had fallen to his share by the partition treaty made between him and the Peishwa, and (2) by virtue of the farm which he held from the Peishwa of levying tribute from

* *Ibid*, p. 144.

the other parts of the Province which remained unalienated by the said partition treaty. Predatory forces used periodically to overrun the Province to levy and collect tribute at an arbitrary rate. Very often, too, the Peishwa landed his own army to collect tribute on his account. Thus the Province was suffering not only from the visits of despoiling forces, but also from the dual control of the Peishwa and the Gaekwad. In this state of things, the British Government made an arrangement with the Gaekwad. A combined army of British troops, accompanied by Colonel Walker, then Resident at Baroda, and Dewan Vithalrao Dewaji, entered the Province, and a settlement for the payment of the tribute by all the different Chiefs of the Province was arrived at which, although originally for ten years, was afterwards made permanent. But although this tribute settlement was made, the paramount authority rested with the Gaekwad. By the Treaty of 1817, made between the Peishwa and the British Government, the right of the Peishwa to levy tribute in Kathiawad was ceded permanently to the British Government. In 1818 the Peishwa

was deposed and all his territories and rights lapsed to the British Government. In 1820 the Gaekwad transferred to the British Government his right of levying tribute in Kathiawad. The British Government thus became possessed of the paramount authority in Kathiawad; but owing to some difficulties, it did not assume the actual details of the control until 1822, when a Political Agent was appointed for the Province, with head-quarters at Rajkote.

Mr. Gaorishankar was about 17 years of age when he entered the service of the Bhavnagar State as Assistant to Mr. Shevakram Desai, who then represented the State at the newly-established Political Agency. His entrance into the service of the State was thus synchronous with the turning point in the political history of Kathiawad. In the following year (1822), Mr. Gaorishankar was transferred to the Kundla district as Assistant Revenue Officer. In this post he remained for nearly four years. Those were critical and troublesome years. The Khumán Káthis of Kundla, under their leader Hádá and his son, Jogidas Khuman,—who had originally gone into out-

lawry against their own brethren,—were now in revolt against the Bhavnagar Durbar. They committed innumerable heinous crimes and hesitated at no infamy. The whole district was ravaged and consequently depopulated. Many efforts were made to suppress the revolt and capture the offenders, and even British force was employed to co-operate with the Bhavnagar Sibandi, but all to no avail. The rebels were openly sheltered by the neighbouring talukdars, and very often they used to escape in the thickness of the Gir. The functions of young Mr. Gaorishankar's office, although in appearance of a revenue or civil nature, were, in fact, mixed up with other onerous and important duties connected with the Khumáns' revolt. During his four years' tenure of the post, so well was the district managed by him, and such a leading part had he taken in adopting effectual measures for the suppression of the Khumán Káthis' revolt, and in compelling the sureties of the Khumáns to deliver them up, that the neck of the revolt was entirely broken. These services attracted the notice of the then reigning Chief, Thakor Saheb Vajesingji, who found

that in all affairs of an intricate nature he could do little without the help and advice of Mr. Gaorishankar.

By Article IV. of the Treaty of Bassein, made on the 31st December 1802, between the Peishwa on the one part, and the Honourable East India Company on the other, the Peishwa ceded his territories and rights in the Dhundhuka, Chuda, Ranpur, and Gogo districts to the Company to provide for a regular payment of the whole expense connected with the maintenance of a Subsidiary Force stipulated for in the Treaty. About 116 villages belonging to the Bhavnagar Durbar, but which were geographically situated in the Dhundhuka, Ranpur, and Gogo purganahs, paid tribute to the Peishwa similar to that which the other villages paid to the Gaekwad. The Durbar enjoyed the same status of independence in these villages as the other independent Native States of the Province. It is unquestionably true that by mere cession of his territory or right to the British Government, the Peishwa could not have ceded anything beyond what he was actually possessed of, or what he enjoyed; and the right which the

British Government received in cession from the Peishwa of levying tribute from the Chiefs could not confer on the British Government any new powers that it did not possess. However, power always predominates over weakness, and towards the end of the reign of Vakhatsingji, the father of Vajesingji, the British Government deprived Bhavnagar of its civil and criminal jurisdiction over such of its villages as paid tribute to the Peishwa. A regulation was passed in 1816, whereby the civil and criminal laws of the Ahmedabad district were made applicable to the Chief himself. This led to the institution of certain vexatious suits against Thakor Vajesingji in the Courts of Ahmedabad and Surat, and Mr. Gaorishankar was employed from 1826 to 1830 as the Agent of the Durbar for the conduct of these suits.

One of these suits related to a claim, filed by one Parbhudás Mathuradás, of Rs. 11,77,240, against the Chief of Bhavnagar in the Judge's Court at Ahmedabad. Clause 2 of Section 31 of the Regulation of 1823 provided that the Judge's Court at Ahmedabad had no jurisdiction to entertain claims against Bhavnagar which were

of a date prior to 1815. And since Parbhudás' claim was of a date anterior to 1815, the Court threw it out, and decided in favour of the Bhavnagar Chief. Against this decision Parbhudás appealed to the Suddar Adawlat, which was in those days located at Surat. It was presided over by Messrs. James Sutherland, Edward Ironside, and John Romer. These judges used to hear appeals by turns. Parbhudás' appeal came on for hearing before Mr. Romer, who held that, though it was true enough that Parbhudás' claim belonged to a period anterior to 1815, the fact of the then Bhavnagar Chief having continued to make payments subsequent to 1815 must be held to be a conclusive proof in favour of the validity of the claim subsequent to 1815. He accordingly reversed the decree of the Ahmedabad Court and decided in favour of Parbhudás. This decision, and the papers connected therewith, were circulated by Mr. Romer amongst his brother judges, all of whom concurred in Mr. Romer's decision. The Court directed that the amount should be recovered from the Bhavnagar Chief and paid to Parbhudàs.

Upon this the Thakor Vajesingji sent Mr. Gaorishankar in 1826 to Surat as his Vakil. Mr. Gaorishankar remained in Surat for two years endeavouring to get the matter brought on for a fresh hearing. In these efforts, however, he did not succeed. His last course was to appeal to the Bombay Government, who, after going fully into the matter, held that though payments on account of the original debt contracted prior to the 20th July 1815, might have been made subsequent to that date, yet the fact remained that the original debt was contracted prior to July 1815. The original suit, therefore, could not lie in the Ahmedabad Court. The Government passed Regulation I. of 1826. The judgment of the Sudder Adawlat was thus reversed. For this result the Thakor Saheb Vajesingji acknowledged that he was indebted to the untiring exertions, patience, and tact of Mr. Gaorishankar. It gave him a high idea of the powers of his Agent.

CHAPTER II.

Assumption of Chief Karbhar.

In 1847 Mr. Parmanandas, the Minister, resigned office owing to advancing years, and the Thakor's private Karbhari, Girijashankar Karunashankar, dying the same year, the Thakor Saheb Vajesingji entrusted the administration to Desai Santokram Shevakram, son of the old Minister Shevakram Rajaram, and Mr. Gaorishankar Udayashankar in joint charge.

Desai Santokram belonged to a historical family in Bhavnagar. The first person who brought the family into reputation was Desai Harishankar Ishwarji. He assisted, as a military officer, the army of Mahomed Tughlak in the year 1347 A. C. against Mukhadji Gohel, Chief of the island of Perim and one of the ancestors of the present ruler of Bhavnagar.* For his services on this occasion he was rewarded by being made a Desai and by a grant of lands in various parts of the district of Gogo. He was also allowed the privilege of levying customs' dues at the ancient ports of Gundi

* See *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. VIII., on Kathiawad, Chap. VII., page 285.

and Gogo. Another ancestor of Desai Santokram who distinguished himself was Desai Somji Shivdas. He accompanied Azam Khan, the Viceroy of Gujarat, during the reign of Shah Jehan in 1635 A. C., as a military officer, helped him in quelling the disturbances of the Kolis and Kathís who ravaged the greater portion of Gogo. For his signal services he was rewarded by the grant in inam of the villages of Chitra and Hoidad in the Gogo district.* This inam grant had been successively recognized by the issue of Sunnuds to the family. One was issued in 1683 A. C. by Salabat Mahomed Khan, then Viceroy of Gujarat, another in 1721 A. C. by Damaji Gaekwad, a third in 1739 by the Peishwa, Balaji Bajirao, and the fourth and the last in 1759 A. C. by Mahomed Khan Bahadur Khan, then Suba of Ahmedabad. Desai Rajaram Ishwarji was another distinguished ancestor of Desai Santokram. He held an honourable post in the service of the Peishwa at Poona as a cavalry officer with 100 horse of his own. He took part in the battle of

* *Ibid.*, pp. 295-97.

Panipat in 1761 A. C., and was severely wounded. Later on, there was Desai Waghji Govindji, whose services to the Government of the day were rewarded by the privilege accorded him of levying a rate on the customs' collections at the port of Bhavnagar: a Sunnud was issued to him conferring this privilege, and another making a grant of the village of Tansa in the district of Gogo, by Manaji, Gaekwar, in 1774 A. C., for his valuable services as Desai of the district. All these inam grants were conferred and are still continued by the British Government and held by the elder branch of the family. About the time of the establishment of British rule in Western India, the name of Desai Anundram Atmaram may be mentioned as having come into prominent notice in connection with the settlement of Kathiawad by Col. Walker in 1802-3 A. C.*

* The following extract para. 54 from a Jamabundi Report, dated 19th April 1814, from Mr. B. Rowles, Collector of Kaira, testifies to the good work of Desai Atmaram :—

"Instead of committing the duties to his son, who is the Thakor's Dewan, I entrusted them to another member of the family, who had distinguished himself by his general information and attentive services for many years, having

Desai Sevakram Rajaram, the father of Desai Santokram, first served as Mamlatdar of Damnagar, in Kathiawad, in 1797 A. C. during the reign of Govindrao Gaekwar. While serving in this capacity he was invited by Thakor Wakhatsingji, great-great-grandfather of the present ruler of Bhavnagar, to accept service in his State, and was placed in administrative charge of the district of Kundla. Thakor Vajesingji, the son and successor of Wakhatsingji, appointed Desai Sevakram as his Dewan. His services were rewarded by a grant of inam lands, yielding annually a sum of Rs. 1,000. These lands are now held by the family. His son, Desai Santokram, first served as a Customs Officer at Gogo under the British Government in 1833 A. C. As such

accompanied Col. Walker in his first campaign into Kathiawad, and since then rendered himself extremely useful to me from his knowledge of the circumstances and history of my western districts. This person's name is Anandram Atmaram. He is descended from the stock with the late Somji, who was one generation further removed from it; but it was not in the least owing to the consanguinity that I selected him for the duty: it was solely on account of his own merit and fitness for the employ."

he gave material help to the late Mr. Harry Borrodaile, then Collector of Ahmedabad, to Mr. Thomas Williamson, the Revenue Commissioner of Gujarat, and to Mr. J. H. Pelly, the Collector of Customs. His services, however, were taken over by the Bhavnagar Durbar, who employed him in various posts of trust and responsibility. From 1838 to 1841 he was Private Secretary to the heir-apparent Thakor Vajesingji, and became the chief adviser to him on his assumption of power as ruler of Bhavnagar. In this office he continued till 1847 A. C., when he became Dewan to Thakor Akherajji, the successor of Thakore Vajesingji. He remained in this post even during the reign of Thakor Jaswatsingji, who succeeded Thakor Akherajji. In 1857 A. C. C., he became Joint Dewan with Mr. Gaorishankar, attending chiefly to the internal affairs of the State.

On the assumption of the Dewanship, Mr. Gaorishankar found the State suffering from numerous evils. The procedure in vogue in the Agency before the jurisdiction of the States was classified was lax. Complaints, however trivial and frivolous, when made even by an ordinary

subject of a Native State against its Chief were entertained and heard by the Agency. Powers of interference were, in fact, exercised by the Agency where no such powers existed. Again there was no finality of procedure of any kind. And yet either for satisfaction of its orders or settlement of a dispute or complaint, the Agency had attached a large portion of a rich district of the Bhavnagar State and villages in different districts. Besides, Mr. Gaorishankar found that his State had to make an aggregate payment of Rs. 1,500 per month on account of no less than 70 *mohsuls*, or impositions, by way of fine inflicted on it by the Agency for several claims against the State. To say nothing of the indignity of this standing imposition, the payment of the money was, in the then impecunious condition of the State, a real hardship. In a brief period, however, Mr. Gaorishankar managed to effect such satisfactory settlements of all the questions in dispute, that Colonel Lang, the Political Agent of Kathiawad, withdrew all the " mohsuls " and freed the State from heavy indignity and levy.

The Junaghad State had set up a claim on 76

villlages, several of which belonged to the Kundla and the rest to the Mahuva purganahs. So protracted were the proceedings of this case, and so acrimonious had the dispute become, that it was hopeless to anticipate its final termination in view of the lax procedure then in vogue in the Agency. The Agency had issued attachments against these villages. In view of these untoward circumstances, Mr. Gaorishankar thought it advisable to amicably settle the case. The claim of Junaghad, whether well or ill-founded, was compounded in 1854, and a yearly payment of Rs. 9,000 was settled to be made by Bhávnagar to Junaghad, and the latter finally renounced its claim over the villages. This amicable settlement was made through the mediation of Colonel Lang, the Political Agent. Thus was brought to an end an acrimonious dispute lasting over half a century.

But by far the most serious hardship under which Mr. Gaorishankar found the State suffering was the threatening attitude assumed by the Arab Sibandi force of the Thakor, owing to his inability to pay the enormous sum of 72 lakhs of rupees due to the Jamádár of that

Force. This debt, though, in fact, not all due to the Jamádár himself, was originally contracted in the following manner:—In former days it was the custom, amounting almost to a rule, in Kathiawad, that when any large loan was to be had from a banker, a substantial guarantee, either of the Commandant of a Sibandi, or of a Bároth or Bhát, &c., was invariably demanded by the money-lender, and a State could only contract a large debt after giving such a guarantee. On the man pledging his guarantee, a *rucká* or document was passed to him, and the guarantor had the power of enforcing the terms of the debt or its repayment or satisfaction. It was in this manner that the Jamádár had stood as a guarantee in some of the large debts contracted by Thakor Vakhatsingji, a former Ruler of the State. Again, the arrears of pay and allowances, long overdue to the Arab Force, which had been allowed to accumulate for a series of years, had come to an enormous amount. Owing to the inability of the Durbar to discharge these debts, the descendants of the Jamádárs, Sálé and Tálah, had, in A. D. 1836, taken possession of Mahuva, one of the richest

districts of the Bhávnagar State. They had, by the effectual possession and supremacy of their power, become virtually the rulers of that district, and even the State Officer in charge of it was scarcely allowed to live in peace. A great many measures were suggested and adopted, but every one of them proved fruitless. So enormous was the amount of debt shown to the Political Officers of that day as due to the Jamádárs by the Durbar, that they refused to assist the Durbar. As it was almost impossible to dislodge the Jamádárs from the stronghold of Mahuwa, and to recover possession of the district from them without bloodshed, Mr. Gaorishankar took the matter in hand soon after his appointment as Dewan. At this time the Political Agent desired the Bhávnagar Chief to send his Dewan to get the Jamádárs' disputes settled. The Dewan was thereupon ordered by the Thakor Saheb to join the Political Agent's camp, which he did accordingly. What with being deprived of his independence in a part of his territory—being reduced by the British Government to the level of a common subject in his own capital—what with daily

slights of every conceivable nature which he experienced at the hands of some of the Zilla officers, and now with two Jamádárs—mere servants of his State—forcibly taking possession of one of his richest districts, becoming its virtual rulers, and refusing to evacuate it on even fair terms,—the Thakor Saheb felt the burden of so many cares too much for him. He is said to have declared to Mr. Gaorishankar, when the latter took his leave to go to the Political Agent's camp, that he would only consider himself a Chief when the Jamádárs, with their Arab Force, were obliged to evacuate Mahuwa. Before Mr. Gaorishankar left Bhávnagar for the Political Agent's camp, he went carefully through the great mass of intricate and difficult accounts of several years' standing relating to the different transactions and debts on which was based the sum alleged by the Jamádárs as being due to them. The Jamádárs had fictitiously swollen the total of these debts to a round sum of Rs.72,00,000, and as until the Political Agent was satisfied that either this large amount was really fictitious, or that the Durbar was able to pay it off, it was no wonder that he refused to assist the Durbar in its endea-

vour to force the Arab Sibandi to evacuate the stronghold of Mahuwá. Mr. Gaorishankar remained with Colonel Lang continuously for eleven months, and was at length enabled to demonstrate convincingly to that officer that the accounts which the Jamádárs had submitted were all fictitious. The guaranteed debts were utterly misrepresented, for many of them, which had been already directly satisfied by the Durbar, were included by the Jamádárs in their statements as outstandings still due to them. Again, the guarantee of the Jamádárs with regard to those loans which were advanced to the Durbar by bankers residing in British territories had, in consequence of Bhávnagar itself and its 116 villages having been declared by the British Government as intra-jurisdictional, become ineffectual, for these bankers could now sue the Durbar and recover from it under a decree of the British Civil Court. Having thus disposed of the guarantee question, which involved the large sum of Rs. 60,00,000, the remaining question about the debts due to the Jamádárs personally was taken in hand. On a consideration of all these points, and an exa-

mination of the accounts produced by Mr. Gaorishankar, Colonel Lang came to the conclusion that out of the enormous sum of Rs. 72,00,000 claimed by the Jamádárs, Rs. 3,25,000 was all that was really due to them. On the Jamádárs agreeing to receive this sum, a release document was obtained from them, and Colonel Lang wrote to the Thakor Saheb to pay off the sum he had found due to the Jamádárs. The Jamádárs had also laid claim to the village of Kumbhán, but the claim being found untenable, they withdrew it by Colonel Lang's order. So pleased was the old Thakor Saheb with the satisfactory result of this long-standing dispute that Mr. Gaorishankar's pay was doubled, and he was otherwise handsomely rewarded for his faithful services. Colonel Lang reported the whole matter to Government.

During the course of this investigation, Colonel Lang, finding that the claims of the Jamádárs were mostly fictitious, ordered them to evacuate the stronghold and district of Mahuwá; but on his visit to Bhávnagar in Samvat 1905, A.D. 1849, he learnt, that although the Jamádárs had agreed to act up to his order, they had

not actually carried it out. He therefore ordered a company of an Infantry Regiment to be sent against them, whereupon the Jamádárs finally evacuated the fort of Mahuwá, and proceeded to Talájá.

At Talájá it was soon found that the Jamádárs were not on the side of peace. Frequent riots occurred between them and the people. It was accordingly thought expedient to remove them to Bhávnagar. There a great riot occurred in 1863. The Jamádárs established themselves on the Gogo durwázá, or the City gate, on the road leading towards Gogo, and occupied it. It was a strong and commanding position, in which a handful of men with a few matchlocks could keep the city at their mercy. They were repeatedly warned to desist from their unruly conduct. His Highness the Thakor Saheb felt their conduct insulting and vexatious; but Bhávnagar being then under British laws and regulations, it was found impossible for the Durbar itself to take any measures other than those of persuasion.

Several efforts were made to persuade the Jamádárs to evacuate the City gate, but they

refused to do so until all their claims and demands were satisfied. The Agency was now appealed to when Mr. Gaorishankar was not in Bhávnagar. Mr. Coulson, then First Assistant to the Political Agent and Magistrate of the 116 villages, came to Bhávnagar to persuade the Jamádárs to evacuate the gate, but his efforts being frustrated, he collected a few police sepoys from the Gogo district, and with the help of the Durbari Sibandi, resolved to carry the gate by assault. A gun from the Durbar was also kept ready, and the Jamádárs were apprised that unless they evacuated the gate within certain stated hours, the City gate would be bombarded and carried by assault. The Jamádárs now assumed a threatening attitude, and finally refused either to evacuate the gate or make any submission until all their claims and demands were satisfied. Bloodshed was imminent, and the pillage of the city by the Arabs and other consequential crimes seemed inevitable; but most fortunately Mr. Gaorishankar came upon the scene at this critical moment, and persuaded Mr. Coulson of the folly of the step he was taking. The just claims and demands of

the Jamádárs were finally liquidated at once, and they were allowed to leave the Bhávnagar territory without molestation. Thus, through the foresight and wisdom of Mr. Gaorishankar, the evils that would undoubtedly have followed were ultimately averted.

In 1852 Thakor Saheb Vajesingji, who was now 72 years of age, and who had reigned for 36 years, died, and was succeeded by his eldest grandson, Akherájji, otherwise called Dájirájji, then 35 years of age. Some years before his death, Thakor Saheb Vajesingji had conceived the idea of granting to each of his younger sons, Nársingji and Akhubá, the entire purganahs of Mahuwá and Kundlá in *gras*, or for maintenance, as cadets of the house. Owing to the paramount influence which Bai Nanibá, mother of the two cadets and wife of the Thakor Saheb Vajesingji, had over her husband, the idea conceived by the Thakor Saheb daily gained a firm footing in his mind. One of the cadets, Nársingji, was in possession of the Kundla purganah, though virtually as a manager on behalf of the State; and Akhubhá would likewise have been put in possession of the Mahuwá

purganah, were it not for the accident by which the possession of this purganah was then held by the Arab Jamádárs. The heir apparent, Kumár Shri Bhávsingji, who had died before his father, had opposed the Thakor Saheb's intention. Mr. Gaorishankar, being then the chief adviser of the Thakor Saheb, never countenanced his intentions, for the simple reason that the alienation of the two richest and most important purganahs of the State would amount to a virtual dismemberment of the State, and the wise custom laid down by former rulers of Bhávnagar of granting only three villages to a cadet of the house would have been set aside. All persuasion on the part of the old Thakor Saheb proving for a time ineffectual, the heir-apparent appealed to the Agency. Ultimately, the matter was submitted for the arbitrament of the Government of Bombay, who ruled that they could only permit a grant to the cadets, which was in conformity with the capabilities and the custom of the State. Two years later, when Mr. Gaorishankar assumed the Dewanship of the State, he brought the old Thakor Saheb to yield to the

advice of the Government, which, in fact, was his own advice from the first. Accordingly, in 1849, Thakor Vajesingji granted three villages to each of his sons, Narsingji, and Akherájji, and three villages to each of his grandsons, Jaswatsingji, Rupsingji, and Devisingji.

CHAPTER III.

Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction of Bhávnagar.

Akherájji died in 1852, after a short and uneventful reign, without male issue, but leaving one daughter, Bakuver Bai, and was succeeded by his brother Jaswatsingji, who was now twenty-seven years of age. The direct line having become extinct, the Mamlatdar of Gogo came over to Bhávnagar to take possession, on behalf of the British Government, of the 116 villages under the British regulations, on the plea that a brother could not inherit this portion of the estate. This plea was supported both by the Collector of Ahmedabad, Mr. G. W. Hadow, and the Settlement Officer, Mr. Alexander Rogers. The Political Agent, Colonel (then Major) Barr, however, supported the Minister, Azam Gaorishankar, and mentioned that Jaswatsingji's claims to succeed were well founded. As the

matter did not admit of a long discussion, the Bombay Government acquiesced in the views of the Political Agent, and held that Jaswatsingji was entitled to succeed, and addressed that Chief a congratulatory letter.

In 1857 the Ahmedabad Police interfered in Bhávnagar affairs, bringing false charges against certain of the chief officials of the State, with the result that the 116 villages aforesaid were placed under the Kathiawad Political Agency (subject, however, to the Zilla Courts), agreeably to Act VI. of 1859, and an Assistant Political Agent, invested with the powers and authority of a Magistrate, was appointed.

Under an order of the Government of Bombay No. 1819, dated 15th April 1859, Mr. (now Sir) J. B. Peile was appointed to enquire into, and report on, the various claims which the Bhávnagar Durbar had against the British Government, and also on the relations of that Durbar with our Government. Mr. Peile, after a lengthened enquiry, reported the result to Government on the 26th November 1859, through the Revenue Commissioner for Alienations, Bombay. This report, although it abounded, according to

Mr. Gaorishankar, in many inaccurate statements of facts, dealt in a comprehensive manner with nearly all the matters at issue. There is no need to take the reader through the various phases of this controversy, but one or two chief features of it may be briefly touched upon in this place. One of the points at issue between the Bhávnagar Durbar and the British Government was the tribute payable by the State. At the date of the Treaty of Bassein (1803-4), whereby the Peishwa ceded his rights to Government, the amount of the tribute stood at Rs. 11,651 per year. In 1816 it was increased to Rs. 32,000, which, by exchange, came to Rs. 35,200. Eight years after this it was raised by about fifty per cent., which brought it to Rs. 53,730. In 1835, or ten years later, it was enhanced by another ten per cent., which brought the sum to Rs. 59,102. But scarcely a year had passed when another ten per cent. was added to the sum with five per cent. in the villages geographically included in the Dhandhuká, Ránpur, and Gogo districts. This brought up the tribute to Rs. 63,814. The Bhávnagar Durbar continually protested against these in-

crements. It disputed the right of the British Government to increase the tribute. The result was a partial abatement made in 1840, when the demand of Government was fixed at Rs. 53,000 a year for a period of thirty years. This lease was to expire in 1870, but finding every protestation and appeal fruitless, the Thakor Saheb continued making the annual payment of the tribute to the British Government. But after Mr. Peile's report the long-pending dispute was finally settled by an agreement made between Sir George Clerk, then Governor of Bombay, on the one part, and H. H. Sir Jaswatsingji, the Thakor Saheb of Bhávnagar, on the other, whereby the amount of tribute payable by Bhávnagar was fixed at Rs. 52,000 per year in perpetuity, with no liability to increase hereafter.

But by far the greatest hardship and humiliation which Bhávanagar was put to was that the State had been deprived of its vested right of the exercise of independent civil and criminal jurisdiction in that part of its territory comprising the 116 villages which formerly paid tribute to the Peishwa. The status of the Thakor Saheb was thus reduced to the level of a

subject in his own territory and in his own capital. Mr. Peile suggested a scheme, the result of which, if carried out, would be that Bhávnagar would withdraw itself altogether from the action of the Regulations. The Bombay Government considered that there were strong grounds for making this jurisdiction question a matter of compromise. Accordingly, the Government of Sir George Clerk proposed a compromise whereby they agreed to concede as a favour, and not as a matter of right, the transfer of Bhávnagar itself, with Wudwá, Sihor, and ten subordinate villages from the district of Gogo to the Kathiáwád Political Agency. This settlement was made on the 22nd December, 1860. But there was no tangible reason why the rest of the villages, 103 in number, should not likewise be re-transferred to the Thakor Saheb's jurisdiction under the Kathiáwád Political Agency, when the thirteen villages, including the two most important capital towns, were agreed to be so transferred. With unabated vigour Mr. Gaorishankar continued to press the subject upon the notice of Government. Meanwhile, the agreement of December 1860 was submitted to the Government

of India with a proposal to embody it further in an Act of the Legislature. A question then arose as to by which Council the Act should be passed—by the Bombay Legislative Council, or the Council of the Governor-General of India? That question was referred for the opinion of Mr. Ritchie, a former Law Member of the Council of the Government of India. He at once laid his finger on the essential point, and raised a very important side-question which vitally affected the status of the whole Province of Kathiáwád. The question raised was—whether or not Kathiáwád was a foreign territory? Mr. Ritchie pointed out that if the Province of Kathiáwád be deemed a foreign Province, and not part of the British territories, the re-transference of jurisdiction over the villages could be effected by the Government in their executive, and not in their legislative capacity, "for," observed Mr. Ritchie, "if the Province of Kathiáwád be "deemed a foreign Province, not forming part of "Her Majesty's Dominions in India, the transfer "of Bhávnagar and the ten villages from the "jurisdiction of Ahmedabad to that of Kathiáwád "cannot be effected by the proposed Bill or by

"any act of either Legislature; for the transfer of "a portion of British territory in India to a "foreign State is, of course, not a fit subject for "legislation at all. Moreover, it would fall within "the prohibition of the India Council's Act, "against any legislation affecting the allegiance "of the inhabitants to Her Majesty, or the Sove-"reignty, or Dominion of the Crown, over that "part of Her Majesty's Dominions; and sup-"posing the agreement with the Thakor to have "been properly ratified in England, the transfer "to a foreign State will already have been effected "by that agreement considered as a Treaty, and "the towns and villages transferred by it would "no longer be in British India, or within the "jurisdiction, for purposes of legislation, of the "Governor-General in Council or the Governor "of Bombay in Council." Mr. Ritchie, lastly, came to the conclusion that if Kathiáwád was a foreign territory, the Executive Government might do what was wanted, but he warned the Legislature against having anything to do with it. It thus became actually necessary to first determine the political status of Kathiáwád, *i.e.*, whether or not Kathiáwád was a foreign

territory before the subject—then being considered by the Government of India—could be finally settled.

Under these circumstances, the question relating to the political status of Kathiáwád was referred back to the Government of Bombay. Although it was actually settled by the Home Government in 1858, it nevertheless involved a great deal of research, and elicited different opinions from different minds. It was discussed amongst British officers themselves without reference to the Chiefs of the Province, and, therefore, it naturally was, to a great extent, full of inaccurate information and facts. The late Governor, Sir Bartle Frere, in a Minute, dated the 21st March 1863, illogically asked—"If the British Crown is not the Sovereign, "and does not claim the allegiance of the "inhabitants of Kathiáwád as its subjects,—"who is the Sovereign, and to whom is allegiance "due?" It would seem that he had lost sight of the fact that neither the Peninsula of Kathiáwád, when taken as a whole, nor its inhabitants, were one component part of a territory, but that the Province was divided, and

the different divisions and their inhabitants were never British subjects, but were subject to general States, to whom alone the inhabitants owned allegiance. Of Kathiáwád, indeed, it might be said, as Cavour said of Italy, that it was "a geographical expression." It is unnecessary, however, to enter into a discussion on this point. Sir Bartle Frere was supported by his Council, and several other subordinate officers gave in similar opinions. The matter was then submitted to the Government of India, by whom it was finally referred to the Secretary of State in Council. The decision of the Secretary of State in Council was communicated in a despatch, No. 54, dated the 31st August 1864, to the Government of India. "It is sufficient to say," said the Secretary of State, "that the Chiefs "of Kathiáwád have received formal assur- "ance from the British Government that their "rights will be respected, and that the Home "Government of India, so lately as 1858, repu- "diated the opinion that the Province of Kathiá- "wád was British territory or its inhabitants "British subjects." Further on he remarked:— "But we have never exercised the right to apply

"our civil and criminal codes of procedure to "Kathiáwád, and whatever reforms we have in- "troduced have been made in such a manner "as to ensure the co-operation and support of the "Chiefs. It has been our aim not to undermine "their authority and independence, nor to un- "dertake the internal administration of the "Province." By this authoritative decision of the highest British tribunal the Province of Kathiáwád was once more finally declared to be a foreign territory, and no Act of the Legislature was passed on the subject; but negotiation with the Thakor Saheb of Bhávnagar was resumed by the Bombay Government. It eventually ended by a Notification, dated the 29th January 1866, and published at page 197 of the *Bombay Government Gazette* of that year. By this Notification the Government of Bombay restored to the Bhávnagar Durbar their right of exercising independent jurisdiction over the 116 villages, including the capital city of Bhávnagar itself. It was declared that these villages which belonged to the Chief of Bhávnagar were removed from the 1st February 1866 from the jurisdiction of the revenue, civil, and criminal courts of the Bom-

bay Presidency, and transferred to the supervision of the Political Agency in Kathiáwád, on the same conditions as to jurisdiction as the villages of the taluka of the Thakor of Bhávnagar heretofore in that Province.

Thus, after the lapse of more than half a century, the fond hope cherished by the late Thakor Vajesingji that he would leave to posterity the ancient possessions of his house undiminished in territorial strength and power, was realized though not in his *régime* but in that of his grandson. In fighting for the just rights of his master, the path of Mr. Gaorishankar was beset with difficulties of no ordinary character. Every time an appeal was made to Government it met with steadfast refusal; but Mr. Gaorishankar was not daunted by such refusal in his efforts to obtain a fair hearing for his master. He was plainly told that ultimate success in the case was simply impossible, but Mr. Gaorishankar's motto in this, as indeed in all other similarly difficult matters, had always been, that "perseverance is the mother of good luck." Colonel Lang, who had thoroughly studied the case and had taken a leading part

in helping Mr. Gaorishankar, on hearing of this satisfactory result, wrote to Major Barr in the following terms :—

"I was delighted to see what a good, and, on the whole, equitable settlement Government had made for the Bhávnagar Thakor. It must, indeed, be quite a new life to him in his family and adherents, and Gaggá Ozá* and Santokrám deserve at the Thakor's hands the very best he has to give them ; and whether rewarded as they deserve to be or not for all their persevering and zealous exertions on behalf of their master's rights and dignity, they must feel the highest gratification at the complete success which has crowned all their honest and praiseworthy exertions. Pray, tell Gaggá Ozá, with my best regards and kindest remembrances, how glad I am to hear this good news, and how sincerely I sympathise in all the well-deserved feelings of pride he must entertain."

His Highness Jaswatsingji was not slow to appreciate the services of his faithful Minister. The conviction came spontaneously home to him that he could not have regained both his per-

* The familiar name of Mr. Gaorishankar.

sonal independence in Bhávnagar and his jurisdiction and powers but for the incessant anxiety, care, perseverance, tact, and judgment, and devotion evinced by his trusted minister for his master's interests. Deeply imbued with a sense of the value of Mr. Gaorishankar's services, he felt himself bound to recognize them in the most public manner. At a Durbar held by him, Sir Jaswatsingji bestowed the village of Turkhá, of the Botad purganah, in perpetuity on Azam Gaorisankar. At the same time the village of Kumbhán, of the Mahuwá purganah, was bestowed on the same terms on Mr. Santokrám Desái. Other officers and subordinates were also handsomely rewarded.

But though the transfer of jurisdiction thus effected was final, and was made in perfect good faith, a technical flaw was some time after discovered, the effect of which was virtually to upset the arrangement made in 1866. It happened in this way. Some time before the publication of the Government Notification in 1866, a suit* was pending in the court of the

* Damodar Gordhan, Defendant *vs.* Deoram Kanji (deceased, by his sons and heirs), Plaintiff, see Indian Law Reports, Bombay Series, Vol. I., pp. 367-461.

Munsiff of Gogo for the recovery of a piece of land situated in Gángli, one of the villages mentioned in the schedule. On appeal the High Court at Bombay remanded the case for a trial *de novo*. The suit was pending in the Court of the Judge of Ahmedabad when the notification in question was issued in 1866. The defendant to the suit now objected that the Judge had lost his jurisdiction in the matter, by reason of the fact that the village of Gángli had ceased to be a village under the jurisdiction of his Court. The Judge overruled the objection, and the Munsiff's decree, which the Court of the Assistant Judge had reversed, was re-affirmed. The defendant then preferred a special appeal to the High Court: the High Court upheld the Judge's order. They thought that if the territory had actually been ceded, the cession would destroy the jurisdiction; but they held that it had not been ceded because the Crown had no authority to cede any territory at all. The Government of India, which was no party to the suit, heard of the decision, and it disturbed them. With the permission of the High Court and by an arrangement with the parties, the

Government intervened. The case was re-argued upon some new materials before the High Court, who, however, adhered to their opinion. The case then went up to the Privy Council, who delivered their judgment* on the 28th March 1876. The Privy Council declined to endorse the opinion of the High Court of Bombay, that it was beyond the power of the British Crown, without the concurrence of the Imperial Parliament, to make any cession within the jurisdiction of any of the Courts of the British Government in time of peace to a Foreign State. The Council at the same time guarded itself against expressing any opinion on the important point—whether or not Kathiáwád was foreign territory.

Under these circumstances it became necessary for the Government of India to adopt active and immediate measures. Because the High Court threatened to execute the decree it had passed in the Gángli case, it was apprehended that every proceeding which was held during the interval would be questioned as

* Reported at pp. 367-461, Vol. I., Indian Law Reports, Bombay Series.

illegal, though done in perfect good faith. It was also feared that since the central jail was situated in Bhávnagar itself, the prisoners confined therein, numbering over 200, might perhaps be declared to have been legally so confined in British territory, and a writ of *habeas corpus* might be taken out to liberate them all. This critical state of things necessitated prompt action. The Government of India, after issuing a fresh Notification, dated the 5th December, 1876, introduced a Bill* into the Supreme Legislative Council on the following day (6th December, 1876), and it was read and passed at a single sitting of the Council. This Notification and Act XX. of 1876 had the effect not only of giving validity to the proceedings of 1866 of the Government of Bombay, but of setting at rest, for all time to come, fresh litigation consequent upon the detection of the technical flaw referred to above. Thus, after a lapse of ten years, the final solution of the question of the exercise of independent jurisdiction by the rulers of Bhávnagar was brought

* It became Act No. XX. of 1870 (the Bhávnagar Act, with retrospective effect to the 1st of February, 1866).

about in a manner which left nothing more to be desired. Although the State of Bhávnagar was at this time under Joint Administration, it fell to Mr. Gaorishankar to take a prominent part in bringing about its final settlement.

CHAPTER IV.

Internal Reforms.

In the matter of education, Mr. Gaorishankar saw he had before him a very delicate task to perform. On the one hand, he realized the evils arising from habits of indolence and from want of systematic training for young men aspiring to a career in the State ; on the other, it was a period when steps taken to establish an institution in which young men should receive sound education were viewed by parents with a certain amount of suspicion and prejudice. But his firmness and good sense prevailed. He took measures to establish a Vernacular School in Bhávnagar, and sent his own sons there to complete the course of instruction they had received at Gogo. A school was also established at Mahuwá, and every successive year of his administration witnessed the establishment of an increasing number of schools. His efforts met with the appreciation of Mr. (now Sir) Theodore Hope,

then Educational Inspector of the Northern Division of the Presidency of Bombay. In his Report for 1855-56, Mr. Hope, referring to education in Kathiáwád, said that "much interest "in education is taken by his (the Bhávnagar "Thakor's) Chief Karbhari, Gaorishankar Udaya-"shankar." In 1856 an Anglo-Vernacular School was established in Bhávnagar; but by far the greatest difficulty he had to face was in respect to the establishment of a Girls' School in Bhávnagar. This difficulty he also got over, and in course of time a Girls' School was established, and the services of a Schoolmistress secured for it. For its good efforts to promote education, the Durbar received the approbation of Government from time to time. In para. 288 of his Report, dated 25th November 1859, Mr. J. B. Peile, Political Agent of Kathiáwád, said that "the Durbar is visibly and properly embarrassed "in attempting to assimilate its influence in "Gogo and Dhandhuka with that in the Kathiá-"wád States. Yet in the possessions that have "been the subject of my Report, a praiseworthy "activity has been evinced in the cause of edu-"cation, the proportion of schools to villages

"nagar the liberality of the Durbar in building "and improving school-houses has already ex- "cited the approbation of Government."

Mr. Gaorishankar was the adviser of Thakor Jaswatsingji in the matter of maintaining a steady friendship and offering every help to the British Government during the period of the Indian Mutiny. Bhávnagar's unflinching alliance to British interests at this crisis is a well-known fact, and there are reports extant by the political officers of the Province on this subject. It was, doubtless, owing to the attitude which the State maintained at this trying period, and to the reforms introduced by Thakor Jaswatsingji, that he was created a Knight Commander of the Star of India in 1867. In February of that year the Thakor Saheb was summoned to Bombay by Sir Bartle Frere for the ceremony of investiture. Mr. Gaorishankar accompanied His Highness to Bombay. The Durbar was held at the Parel Government House in February 1867. Addressing the Thakor Jaswatsingji, Sir Bartle Frere remarked:

"Your Highness has set an excellent example to the Chiefs of Western India in providing,

otherwise than by personal attention, for the due discharge of your judicial duties. I have seen the printed Code of regulations for the guidance of all your Courts, and I am assured that it embodies much that is valuable and adapted to your dominions in the spirit of the more elaborate Codes of British India. Major Keatinge tells me that you have appointed judicial officers—selected for their probity and intelligence—for the special duty of administering justice; that they are fairly paid, and not subject to capricious removal. If your Highness will take care that all these safeguards for the administration of justice are made as permanent as possible, your Highness will secure not only the approval of Her Majesty's Government, but you will establish a permanent claim to be regarded as a benefactor to your people and a bright example to other Princes."

About this time it was felt that the scions of the Kathiáwád Chiefs did not receive the education which was to fit them for the responsible duties of rulers in after-life. Mr. Gaorishankar took up the idea, and offered to lend support on behalf of his State to an institution having

for its object the education of the young Chiefs and nobles of Kathiáwád. Other Chiefs followed suit, and the project took firm root. In 1868, after the return of Thakor Sir Jaswatsingji from a pilgrimage to Benares, his eldest son, Takhtsingji, the present ruling Chief, accompanied by the Minister, Azam Gaorishankar Údyashankar, went to Rajkot, to attend the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the Rájkumár College.

To introduce an efficient system of public works in Bhávnagar, Mr. Gaorishankar engaged, on the advice of Colonel Keatinge, the services of Mr. Claude Moncton as State Engineer. With his help plans and estimates were got ready for a central jail at Bhávnagar. The expenditure was sanctioned, and the jail is now one of the finest buildings in Bhávnagar. There were no roads or public buildings to speak of in any parts of the State, but these wants were supplied one by one with the help of the establishment of a department of public works.

During the year 1869, Devisingji and Rupsingji, younger brothers of Sir Jaswatsingji, died, and the Thakor, whose health had been

ailing during the last year or two, grew weaker day by day. Seeing the prospects of recovery well nigh hopeless, the Thakor made a will, one of the clauses of which referred to Mr. Gaorishankar and the future management of the State, in the following terms :—

"I heartily trust in Azam Gaorishankar Údayashankar, who has been administering my dominion excellently and with honest principles in all its affairs since the time of my late ancestor, Thakor Shri Vajesingji (*i.e.*, since three generations). I attribute the present good condition of my State entirely to him, and have full faith that he will take great interest in its future welfare. It is, therefore, my will and desire that during the minority of my heir apparent, Takhtsingji, he should take upon himself the responsibility of the entire management of my dominion, and that it should be supervised by the Political Agent in Kathiáwád on behalf of the British Government. If, however, Azam Gaorishankar considers it necessary to conduct the management of my State by means of a Regency, he may do so and manage the business of my State in co-operation with two or three honourable

persons from amongst my old and faithful servants, their selection being made through the Political Agent."

Thakor Jaswatsingji died on the 11th April 1870, in the sixteenth year of his reign, leaving behind him four widows, besides the mother of the heir to the *gadi*, who died during his lifetime. Jaswatsingji left two sons, Takhtsingji and Juwansingji. Takhtsingji, the eldest son of Jaswatsingji by Haribá, daughter of Jadeja Surábhai, of Rajpur, was born on the 6th January 1856. He was thus only fourteen years of age when his father died.

CHAPTER V.

JOINT ADMINISTRATION IN BHÁVNAGAR.

Information of Sir Jaswatsingji's death was in due course communicated to the Political Agent of Kathiáwád, Colonel Anderson. Colonel Anderson wrote to Mr. Gaorishankar on the 13th April 1870, expressing his deep regret at the Thakor Saheb's death and offering his sympathy to the Thakor Saheb's family. Pending a decision by the Bombay Government as to the future administration of the State, the Political Agent entrusted the Dewan with the responsibility of the administration of Bhávnagar. The Assistant Political Agent in charge of the Gohelwád Pránt, Captain L. Russel, instructed him to count up the State treasury.

But the important question now was as to the management of the State during the minority of the young Takhtsingji. Colonel Anderson had already reported to Government on the subject. Mr. Gaorishankar had views of his own as to the form which the future management of the State should take, and how it could be made most consonant with the wishes of

the bulk of the people of Bhávnagar, as well as expedient under the circumstances. To place the Government in possession of his ideas, he sent his nephew, Mr. Samaldas, then Chief Nyayádhish, or Head of the Judicial Department, to Bombay, with instructions to confer with the Governor, Sir Seymour Fitzgerald. Mr. Samaldas proceeded to Mahableshwar and met the Governor, who, however, asked that Mr. Gaorishankar be invited to Poona. Mr. Gaorishankar on receipt of the message, prepared to leave Bhávnagar, informing the Political Agent at Rajkot of the invitation which took him to Poona and leaving the affairs of the State in charge of Desai Santokram Śhevakram. He had several interviews with Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, in course of which he impressed the Governor with his ability, tact and judgment.

At last the Government decided on the experiment of a Joint Administration during the minority of Thakor Saheb Takhtsingji. It was to consist of a European Administrator acting in conjunction with Azam Gaorishankar Údayashankar, the experienced Minister of the State. Several

European officers were named for the office, but whom to select was the most important question. Mr. Gaorishankar, after consulting several of his European friends, agreed to have Mr. E. H. Percival, C. S., then Assitant Collector of Sholápur. The result of the experiment, which was the first of its kind introduced into Kathiáwád, has shown the wisdom of this system of Joint Administration. It has been tried in several cases, and found to answer in many places satisfactorily, but nowhere has it been so successful as in Bhávnagar. On this subject no testimony can be more convincing than that of an independent observer and a sound politician. The late Sir David Wedderburn, M.P., came to India in 1876-77, and visited Bhávnagar and Pálitáná among other places. He recorded his experiences in a paper on the "Protected Princes of India" which he contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* for July 1878. Speaking of the arrangements made for the administration of Native States during the minority of their Chiefs, Sir David remarked:

"Perhaps the most successful of all arrangements has been that of 'Joint Administrators,' such as was adopted by the Bombay Govern-

ment for the State of Bhávnagar. Here a member of the Civil Service was appointed to administer the State during a minority, in connection with a Bráhman of high character and great experience, the Minister of a former Chief. These two Administrators exercised jointly the same powers as had been enjoyed by the late Thakor; a happy blending of European and Native ideas was accomplished, whereby local opinion was in unison with many reforms which appeared desirable from an English point of view; while, in other cases, the danger was avoided of injuring the people—as they are so frequently injured in India—by energetic endeavours to do them good against their will. The Native Minister, thoroughly understanding his own countrymen, kept his European colleague clear of the besetting error of forcing on changes beneficial in themselves but premature. Among other merits, this arrangement has maintained a continuity of men and measures, and will leave the State in a condition fitted for the resumption of Native rule when the young Thakor attains his majority. Under the system of Joint Administrators, the cheap and simple

machinery of Native rule has been used to carry out the more enlightened principles of the British Government. How far is it possible to govern India generally in a similar manner and with similar results ?"

Meanwhile, the young Chief joined the Rájkumár College at Rájkot, he being one of the first to enter it.

The first great measure taken in hand by the Joint Administration was the entire reform of the revenue system—a task for which both Administrators were singularly well qualified; the one by his experience of the British revenue system in the neighbouring British districts in Gujarát, the other by his intimate acquaintance with the local customs. A *khátábandi* or cash settlement for four years, namely 1872, '73, '74, '75, was shortly introduced by them, and the system has been continued with excellent results. The levy of cash settlement was previously introduced into some of the districts to which it was most suited. It should be mentioned here that, in preparing the accurate data whereupon the *khátábandi* system was based, the Joint Administration had the loyal assistance

of the then Revenue Commissioner, Mr. Vajeshankar, the eldest son of Mr. Gaorishankar.

About this time the State of Bhávnagar, excluding the city of Bhávnagar, but including Sehor, Kundlá, and Rajullá, contained only 660 houses built of stone, brick, and mortar, and 96,770 mud-houses. The reason of this was that the ground upon which the houses were constructed belonged to the State. An estimate made at the time showed that there were 91 per cent. of houses in the entire State made of mud.

Upon this the Administration resolved that the State's right of ownership of lands, upon which such houses were built or might be built, should be sold to the occupiers at a price based upon fair considerations of the value of the land. The effect of this ruling was to give an impetus to the building of more substantial and handsome houses, the demand having considerably risen for the purchase of such rights in land already or about to be occupied by houses.

To promote the breed of an indigenous variety of horses, a Horse Show was held in November 1871, and prizes given to those whose horses

appeared to be of superior breed, the Darbár purchasing some of the best. Public works were set on foot; bridges were constructed over rivers, and *nalás* or water-courses were cut between Bhávnagar and Gogo, while land was granted on favourable terms for the establishnment of a Spinning and Weaving Mill.

In 1872-73 the Administration found that the scale of fees charged on the registration of landed property was irregular, and that few people ventured to have their properties registered. It was accordingly ordered that only one rate of fee, namely, $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. on the sale-value of landed property, should be charged throughout the State. The effect of this single order was the immediate offer for registration of numerous deeds executed thirty or forty years back, representing property valued at not less than Rs. 5,36,451.

Comparatively heavy duties levied on imports and exports of cotton at Bhávnagar and Mahuwá were also reduced. A thorough revision of establishnments was effected, and every place in the State had its duties and salary defined and

fixed; while a scale of batta was laid down for every Darbár official who travelled on Darbár business. On the 8th July 1872 a High School was opened at Bhávnagar, and Mr. Jamsetji Naoroji Unwálá, M.A., appointed its Head Master. This High School afforded a direct stimulus to education.

For many years the people of Bhávnagar had suffered for want of a supply of good drinkable water. During the summer season the fresh-water wells in the City failed, with the exception of one or two. Even in the case of this latter, it was painful to see fifty or sixty women gather round the deep well struggling hard to fill their canvas buckets with the limited supply to be found at a considerable depth. Most of the people obtained their supply from temporary wells sunk in the bed of the river Ghadechi, and from a well close by the river, but situated at a distance of two miles from the town. "The climatic changes and "scarcity of water," remarked Dr. Burjorji Behrámji, L.M., in a report, "influenced the salu-"brity of the town to a marked degree, and "brought on an increase of illness in the shape

" of malarious fevers, bronchitis, diarrhœa, dy-
" sentery, guinea-worm, and dyspepsia in various
" forms." Mr. Gaorishankar had long desired to relieve the 40,000 inhabitants of Bhávnagar by giving them a good water-supply. With the advice and cordial co-operation of Mr. Percival, who thoroughly appreciated this want, he now set about the work in sober earnest. It was found that two miles up the river Ghadechi, there was an excellent site for a large reservoir. To obtain a further supply for the reservoir, however, he caused a Bund to be laid across the river Máleshwari, near the villiage of Bhikadá. From this Bund up to the Ghadechi reservoir a canal was sunk, while the Bund enabled a large quantity of water to be gathered as storage for the supply of the village people; all the overflow of the Bund, which went by fall into the canal, was carried by the canal into the reservoir. Across this reservoir, again, was constructed a well-built masonry Bund, the water from which takes the old course into the Moti Taláo. The canal carries the water into a reservoir situated in the heart of the town, which supplies, by means of pipes, pure whole-

some water to the principal localities. The completion of the works cost the State Rs. 6,00,000. When they were opened to the public, they were, at the desire of Mr. Percival, named after Mr. Gaorishankar.

There being no forests in the State, and wood fuel being scarce, the services of Mr. Nuzmudin Ismáel, of the Bombay Forest Department, were asked for and obtained. Through his agency plantations of trees of different kinds in different Mahâls were commenced. The most successful of these are the Mahuwá plantations. In the town of Bhávnagar land was specially set apart for this purpose. The result was that in the course of a few years there were to be seen numerous plantations of trees, such as mango, babul, and cocoanut. To encourage the growth of fruit trees, the Darbár's share in all such trees was commuted into a charge of 4 annas for every mango and cocoanut tree from the time it began to yield fruit.

In 1873-74 the marriage of His Highness the Thakor Saheb, which was looked forward to with much interest by Mr. Gaorishankar, came off. On this occasion a grand *mandap* had to

be put up according to immemorial Hindu custom. The construction of such a *mandap* is, properly speaking, a pure waste of money, considering that it must be pulled down as soon as the occasion which called it into existence had passed away. But with practical foresight, Messrs. Percival and Gaorishankar ordered out from England, through Messrs. Nicol and Co., of Bombay, all the iron materials for the *mandap*, so as to be made suitable for, and capable of, being converted into a building for a fruit and vegetable market. After the marriage festivities were over, the building was converted into a fruit and vegetable market, and open to the public under the name of "The Percival Market."

During the same year the young Takhtsingji left the Rájkumár College, and continued his studies under Captain (now Colonel) H. L. Nutt. Mr. Percival proceeded to Europe on furlough in March 1875, and Colonel J. W. Watson, of the Bombay Staff Corps, acted for him during his absence. On the 15th November 1875, the Gondal Lady, Májirájbá, mother of the heir to the *gádi* (Bhávsingji) died. Shortly after the

Thákor Saheb, accompanied by his tutor, Colonel Nutt, made a tour in India, and visited Delhi, Ágrá, Calcutta (where he had an interview with the Viceroy), Alláhábád, Gwálior, Indore, Láhore, Amritsar, Lucknow, Benáres, Hardwár, Bhurtpore, Masauri, and other places. Mr. Percival resumed his appointment in March 1876.

On January 1st, 1877, the young Chief, accompanied by Azam Gaorishankar, attended the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi, where he received a Banner from the Viceroy and Governor-General, and an increase to his personal salute from 11 to 15 guns. In honour of this event the Thákor Saheb, with the advice of his minister, contributed a lakh of rupees for the construction of a bridge over the Aji River. His old and faithful minister, Azam Gaorishankar, was, at the same time, made a Companion of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. Whilst at Delhi, the party met General Keatinge, V. C., Commissioner of Assam, who was formerly Political Agent of Káthiáwád. General Keatinge had spoken highly of Mr. Gaorishankar's abilities as a statesman to Maháráj á Tukojiráo Holkar

and had advised him not to miss the opportunity of seeing Mr. Gaorishankar. The Mahárájá accordingly was eager to meet Mr. Gaorishankar, and an interview between H. H. the Mahárájá Holkar, the Thákor Saheb of Bhávnagar, and Mr. Gaorishankar was arranged. On the entrance of the Thákor Saheb into Holkar's Hall, the first question the Mahárájá put to the Thákor Saheb was as to where the old (*mhátárá*) gentleman, meaning Mr. Gaorishankar, was, and meeting him expressed his greatest pleasure to Mr. Gaorishankar. As the visit was of a formal character, Mahárájá Holkar had no opportunity of conversing with the Bhávnagar Minister, so he requested Mr. Gaorishankar to visit him on the following day, which he did. The Mahárájá entered into conversation with the veteran Dewán for two hours, in the course of which he referred to a variety of topics touching the administration of Native States. At the close of the conference the Mahárájá expressed his great regard for Mr. Gaorishankar, exclaiming, " I desire to " see such a wise and experienced Dewán for " my Ráj. "

In February 1877, Mr. Percival was trans-

ferred to the Sholápur Collectorate, and was succeeded as Joint Administrator by Major (now Colonel) J. W. Watson. Mr. Gaorishankar wished to see His Highness initiated in the affairs of the State. Accordingly, in March following, the Thákor Saheb, with the sanction of the Bombay Government, succeeded Azam Gaorishankar as Joint Administrator, Mr. Gaorishankar reverting to his former position as Minister. In April 1877 the Bombay Government passed a Resolution entrusting H. H. Takhtsingji with full powers of the Bhávnagar State as sanctioned by the Government of India. In this Resolution the Bombay Government remarked :—

"The Governor in Council desires to acknowledge the report of Colonel Parr and the Thákor Saheb of Bhávnagar as Joint Administrators of the Táluká. As the Thákor Saheb was vested with sole authority on the 5th of April last, the Joint Administration has come to an end. It has lasted for eight years, during six of which Mr. Percival was the member appointed on the part of the British Government. The representative of the Bhávnagar State was the able and

respected Minister, Mr. Gaorishankar Údaya-shankar, C.S.I., until last year, when his place was taken by the Thákor Saheb himself. To Mr. Percival and Mr. Gaorishankar the acknowledgments of Government are due for the complete success with which the new and delicate experiment of a Joint Administration has been worked. The trusteeship of the paramount Government during the Thákor Saheb's minority has been discharged to the lasting benefit of the State, as shown in the several matters detailed in the last report, and in complete sympathy with the native system. The Thákor Saheb has won the regard of Government by his high character, his good disposition, and his readiness to benefit by the education provided for him; and the Government have every reason to hope that his Administration will be a blessing."

CHAPTER VI.

The Bhávnagar-Gondal Railway.

It is to Mr. Gaorishankar that Kathiáwád owes the initiation of the first railway in the province. Long before 1869 he had thought of the project and talked about it to various political officers, but it was not until that year that the scheme for a railway in Kathiáwád assumed a definite shape, on the attention of the Government of Bombay being drawn to its desirability. The first proposal was for a line from the port of Gogo to Gondal. It was put forward as a private enterprise, but Mr. Gaorishankar did not desire that the line should take that direction. Bhávnagar, accordingly, submitted a counter-proposal, that of a line direct from Bhávnagar to Wadhwán. Gondal, on the other hand, wanted a connection with the Junágadh port of Veráwal. At the instance of Mr. Gaorishankar, the Joint Administrators were prepared to offer a loan of 40 lakhs of rupees at 4 per cent. interest for the purpose. The pro-

posal was made to the Government of Bombay through Colonel Anderson in a letter in which the Joint Administrators argued that the country carts in Kathiáwád were able so nearly to compete with railways, that the latter must, as a rule, follow closely the old and natural lines of traffic, and any attempt to strike out new paths would fail. While this correspondence was going on, a meeting of the Chiefs concerned was held at Rajkot, at which the feeling was unanimous that the construction of the railway should not be left to private enterprise, but should be placed far above the fluctuations of commercial successes and failures. Government, too, was of opinion that, for political reasons, railways in Native States should be imperial. The proposal of a line from Bhávnagar to Wadhwán was strenuously opposed by the Agent of the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway, on the ground (1) that it would bring his main line into competition with water carriage; and (2) that the money offered was derisively small. Various other proposals were made, but they were one and all objected to by Mr. Gaorishankar as likely to intercept traffic to Bhávnagar.

His project received no countenance from the Bombay Government. In their Resolution, dated 28th February 1871, the Government decided that the proposal for a narrow gauge line from Bhávnagar to Wadhwán was not one to which Government could give their assent, and that this should be intimated to the Bhávnagar State. Mr. Gaorishankar was, however, not daunted by this result. He was firmly of opinion that a project like this, which would develop the resources of the State and add to the revenue of the Darbár, and promote the convenience and comfort of the people, did not deserve to fall through. He constantly re-opened the subject to the political officers of the Province, but nothing substantial came out of it.

At last the scheme attracted the notice of Sir Richard Temple, who, in 1877, became Governor of Bombay. Sir Richard was impressed with the desirability of extending the existing Wadhwán Railway to Kathiáwád. Mr. Gaorishankar was, as before, earnest about it, and so was his colleague, Colonel Watson. The latter Officer proceeded to Wadhwán (where Sir Richard Temple was to arrive in May 1877) for

the purpose of expressing the willingness of the Bhávnagar Durbár to undertake the construction of the line from Bhávnagar to Botád and Gondal. In his interview with Colonel Watson, Sir Richard expressed himself in favour of the line, and asked Colonel Watson to set on foot the necessary surveys. Accordingly, surveys from Bhávnagar to Botád were started through Mr. R. Proctor-Sims, the State Engineer of Bhávnagar. Mr. Proctor-Sims promised Government that the survey up to Botád would be completed in less than two months, but he asked them to decide from which point the line should take the Gondal direction. The Joint Administrators pointed out to Government that the condition on which Bhávnagar would undertake to construct the line was that the jurisdiction over the line constructed at the expense of that State should remain with Bhávnagar.

About November 1877 Sir Richard Temple came to Bhávnagar, and discussed the railway question with Mr. Gaorishankar. He praised the skill and boldness with which Mr. Gaorishankar had put the case of the Bhávnagar Durbár before him. Nothing, however, resulted

directly from the discussion. But the famine which threatened Káthiáwád and Cutch with troubles drove the Government to consider in advance projects of permanent utility on which famine relief labour could be employed instead of being frittered away on petty works. Accordingly, at the meeting held at Poona, at which the Governor and Members of Council, the Secretary to Government, Public Works Department, the Consulting Engineer for Railways, Mr. Peile, the Political Agent, Kathiáwád, and the Agent of the B. B. and C. I. Railway, were present, it was decided, after full consideration, that such projects must consist mainly of railways, and the following lines were thought most suitable:—1st line from Bhávnagar *viâ* Khopálá, with branch to Botád, to Gondal, and thence to Dhoráji, distance about 120 miles; 2nd line from Pátadi, on the B. B. and C. I. extension (at the head of the Runn of Cutch), through Dhrángadhrá to Mália, thence across in the neck of the Runn to Bhuj, the capital of Cutch, a distance of about 140 miles. The Joint Administrators were not at first in favour of a narrow gauge, but had to yield the point

subsequently. The survey of the line from Bhávnagar to Botád, as observed before, was entrusted to Mr. Proctor-Sims. To the late Mr. A. W. Forde was entrusted the line from Dhasá to Gondal and Dhoráji, and the survey of the portion from Botád to Wadhwán was undertaken by Mr. Hargreaves, of the B. B. and C. I. Railway. While the survey was approaching completion, Government deputed Capt. Marrayat to inspect it, and he reported generally in favour of the line from Bhávnagar to Gondal.

About this time the Agent of the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway Company had waived his objection as regards the carrying of the line to Wadhwán City and to the Wadhwán junction. Scarcity had already begun to be very much felt, and the Government lost no time in obtaining the views and proposals of the Political Agent as to how the line should be put in construction. The Political Agent was further informed that "it must be borne in mind that the Govern-"ment of India will certainly decline to gua-"rantee the interest on the outlay, either directly "or indirectly, as they are local or provincial,

"and not imperial, undertakings." Mr. Gaorishankar had to proceed to Bombay in order to settle this and other points connected with the railway, and to inform Government what assistance the Bhávnagar State would be prepared to render towards its construction. He was willing to lend, on behalf of the State, forty lakhs of rupees for the project, on the Government guaranteeing 4 per cent. interest on the outlay, or if that would not suit it, to request the Government to undertake the construction of the line. Sir Richard Temple was, however, not prepared to accept the proposal. He wrote demi-officially to Mr. Peile, to the effect that "after discussing with you "the several terms which the Kathiáwád Chiefs "are disposed to ask regarding the railways, "I think it is better to tell them at once that "I regret I could not recommend that the in-"terest on the outlay should be guaranteed by "the British Government, or that these lines "should be undertaken by the Government, but "rather by the Chiefs themselves. The Govern-"ment would help, of course, in regard to provid-"ing officers to design, etc., etc., and the Bom-

" bay, Baroda, and Central India Railway Com-
" pany would help in working. But the financial
" responsibility would lie with the Chiefs whose
" country was to benefit by the works." This information Mr. Peile sent to the Thakor Saheb, who, after consulting Messrs. Gaorishankar, Sámaldas, and Proctor-Sims, replied by a *yád*. In this *yád* he offered to undertake the construction of the railway on certain specified conditions. By this time Mr. Peile, the Political Agent, was transferred to Sind, and Colonel Barton succeeded him. The new Political Agent sent to the Thakor Saheb a copy of the Resolution passed by the Bombay Government on the papers, including the *yád*.

In that Resolution, Government, among other things, remarked " that whatever the ultimate
" decision may be, Government need not hesitate
" to convey to H. H. the Thakor Saheb of
" Bhávnagar an expression of their cordial ap-
" preciation of the public-spirited and enlightened
" manner in which he has furthered this import-
" ant undertaking." The proceedings of the local Government were reported to the Government of India. The Supreme Government suggested

a few modifications in the conditions made by the Thakor Saheb. The Political Agent urged upon His Highness the acceptance of the proposed modifications as being favourable to the State, and pointed out that it was only by agreeing to them that the State could reap the benefit of a railway. The Thakor Saheb ultimately closed with the proposals under certain reservations, and the Bombay Government, under instruction from the Government of India, directed Mr. Alexander Izat, Chief Engineer of the Dhond and Manmád Line, to proceed to Bhávnagar and take charge, in addition to his own duties, of the construction of the line from Bhávnagar, and engage such officers and staff as had finished their work on the Dhond and Manmád Line, and obtain the rest from the Government of India. Upon this, Mr. Izat came to Bhávnagar to inspect the lines already surveyed, and to arrange about the earthwork of the line, which the scarcity in the Province required to be done as a relief labour. After putting Mr. Macdonald in charge, Mr. Izat went back to Manmád for a short time, but returned again in April 1879 with the necessary staff and pushed

the work of the line at all points with such vigour that the surface line from Bhávnagar to Wadhwán, about 105 miles in length, was quite ready in May 1880, or, say, within thirteen months. This was most creditable to Mr. Izat and his staff. It is said that this is the only line in India which was made in so short a time. It may be added that the platelaying of the last fifty-four miles was finished in thirty-three days. The Government of India expressed their satisfaction to Mr. Izat and the officers concerned for the exceptionally good progress made. In November 1880, Sir James Fergusson, Bart., Governor of Bombay, came down to Bhávnagar to declare the railway open. Sir James made a trip to and from Limbdi by a special train in the first class saloon kept ready for the purpose. On his return a dinner was given to him by H. H. Sir Takhtsinji, the Thakor Saheb of Bhávnagar. In a speech that he made on the occasion, Sir James Fergusson paid a well-merited tribute to the liberality and good sense of the Thakor Saheb, and the wise and able counsels of the veteran and experienced Prime Minister, Azam Gaorishankar Údayashankar, C. S. I.

Bridging commenced next year, and the total capital outlay on the line from Bhávnagar *viâ* Dholá to Wadhwán, and a branch from Dholá to Dhoráji, has now been upwards of Rs. 98,00,000. The average earnings, ever since the opening of the line, have been nearly 4 per cent. on the capital outlay.

CHAPTER VII.

Retirement of Mr. Gaorishankar into Private Life.

In January 1878, the Political Agent, Mr. (now the Honourable Sir) J. B. Peile, C. S. I., invested His Highness the Jam Saheb Vibhájí, and His Highness the Raj Saheb Mansingji with the insignia of a K.C.S.I. On this occasion Azam Gaorishankar also received his insignia of the Companionship of the Star of India previously conferred on him. In his speech, after referring to the services done by His Highness the Jam Saheb and the Raja Saheb of Dhrángadrá, Sir J. B. Peile went on to describe the character and work of Mr. Gaorishankar. The "decorations," said he, "granted to these princes are the na-"tural ornaments of exalted hereditary ranks. "But Azam Gaorishankar Údayashankar has "risen through every stage of laborious official "life to this crown and consummation of an "honourable public career—a career which he

began in a humble position in the old school of custom, and ends as a cautious leader in the new school of reform. He has not cherished isolation and ignorance, because they are old; nor set his face against improved communication and extended trade, because they are new. He has acted on the faith that the agencies which give health and wealth and intelligence to European nations will be equally useful servants to the Indian administrator who has the courage to enlist them. He is a living proof that the art and manners of the West are not really abhorrent or uncongenial to the mind of the Native patriot. In his later years he has taken part in an Administration which has placed Bhávnagar, in point of material advancement, first among the States of Kathiáwád, and he has not been less selected for honour by Her Majesty's Government, because he has always been a devoted and outspoken advocate of the interests of his own State. I will only add that it is to me a matter of satisfaction that these insignia are to be delivered by my hand to * * * * a Minister whose ability and independence I have observed with respect during an official

intercourse of more than eighteen years, and whose character, in its strength and sagacity, is a worthy object of study and emulation to men of his order."

On the 5th of April 1878, the present Chief, Thakor Saheb Takhtsingji, was installed on the *gádi* by the Political Agent, Sir J. B. Peile, C.S.I., who made a most eloquent speech on the occasion. Colonel Parr, Joint Administrator, Colonel Watson, President of the Rájasthanik Court, and Mr. Fitzgerald, District Officer, were also present on this occasion. Immediately after this, a lakh of rupees was set apart for building a new wing to the Rájkumár College at Rájkot and towards an Endowment Fund.

On the 13th January 1879, Azam Gaorishankar Údayashankar, C.S.I., resigned the office of Minister, and, full of years and honours, retired into private life, after having served the State for about fifty-five years in different capacities. Of this period, about thirty-two years were passed as Chief Kárbhári or Dewán. He was succeeded in his office by his nephew, Azam Sámaldás, son of the former Kárbhári, Parmánandás ; and he, in his turn, has been succeeded

by his son, Azam Vithaldás Sámaldás, the present Dewán, and a capable administrator.

After retirement from the service of the State, Mr. Gaorishankar resumed his favourite study of the Vedántá philosophy. He had from early life imbibed a taste for Vedántic studies by the perusal of the Bhagvat Gitá, Sanatsujátiya Ákhyán, and the Padas of Manohar Swámi, of Bhávnagar. He now betook himself to the study of the higher works on the Vedánt philosophy in Sanskrit, namely, the Upanishads, with their commentaries, the Sutras of Vyás, and the various smaller works of Śankarácháryа, the *Panchdashi*, and others. Some of the results of these studies he published in Gujaráti in 1884 in a work called "Svarûpánusandhána," or "Consi-"derations on the nature of Átmá (self) and on "the Unity of Átmá with Paramátmá (the highest "self)."

Professor Max Müller, to whom a copy of the work was sent, wrote to Mr. Gaorishankar in the following terms :—

"I have to thank you for your kind letter and for your valuable present, the 'Svarûpánusandhána.' If you had sent me a necklace of

precious stones it might have been called a magnificent present, but it would not have benefited myself, my true Átmá. The necklace of precious sentences which you have sent me has benefited myself, my true Átmá, and I, therefore, consider it a far more magnificent present than stones or pearls. Besides, in accepting them, I need not be ashamed, for they become only truly my own, if I deserve them, that is, if I really understand them. While we are still in our first and second Áśramas, we must differ from one another according to the country in which we have been born, according to the language we speak, and according to the Dharma in which we have been educated. But when we enter into the third and fourth Áśramas, we differ no longer.

ज्ञात्वा देवं सर्वपाशापहानि:

Though in this life we shall never meet, I am glad to have met you in spirit."

The Hindu Shástras divide the life of a twice-born into four stages or Áśramas. The first is Brahmacharya, or Student Life; the second is Grahasthášrama, or the Life of a Householder; the third is Vánaprastha, or the Life of a Saun-

terer in Forests; and the fourth is Sanyasta, or the Life of an Ascetic, who, having subdued his passions and desires, gives up all connection with worldly affairs and devotes himself to the contemplation of God and His works. Mr. Gaorishankar had passed two of these stages. After his retirement from the Dewánship of Bhávnagar, he lived in his garden-house, situate outside the old town, at a distance from his house. This was something like residing as a Vánaprastha. While in this third Áśrama he received friends and relations at his garden-house, and when referred to for opinion on matters of State, gave such advice as he thought proper. He tried, however, to divert himself more and more from worldly concerns. His name and the interest evinced by him in the Vedánt studies had drawn at times many an itinerant noted anchorite or Sanyási from Śringeri, Benáres, Nepál, and other remote parts of India, and had extended the fame of Bhávnagar as a home of Indian philosophical speculations in Káthiáwád and Gujarát. In July 1887, finding himself advancing in years, and fearing lest he might leave this world whilst in the third Áśrama, he

resolved firmly to enter the fourth stage of a Bráhman's life—that of a Sanyási. During his active political career he had experienced the lights and shades of life in a high degree. He had enjoyed the sweets and bitterness of power, the smiles of fortune, the pleasures of hope, with some of the bitterness of disappointment. So far, while in the third stage, it was a life of holy living. His mind breathed sentiments of piety and of love of God. But he had a yearning after living in a world exclusively spiritual. Having reached the age of eighty-one, he thought the time had come when he should prepare himself for holy dying by a complete renunciation of the active concerns of this world and by exclusive devotion to the thoughts of the life to come. This was Sanyás or asceticism, or spiritual living of the highest order, as contemplated by the Hindu Shástras. As required by the Hindu religion, he first obtained the consent of the members of his family and his relations to carry out his purpose. He then wrote farewell letters to his friends, European and Native. The letter to the Thakor Saheb of Bhávnagar, his master, he wrote in the most

touching terms. It was the last letter that he wrote. It was full of gratitude for past favours and of sound advice for the future. For four days he underwent the ceremonies prescribed by the Hindu religion for reception into the holy order of a Sanyási. He was named by his Guru "Sachchidánand Sarasvati." Hundreds and thousands of the people of Bhávnagar and of the neighbouring villages proceeded to his Áśram to offer their greetings to the venerable "Swámi." His Highness the Thakor Saheb of Bhávnagar not only paid a visit to his aged ex-minister, but issued a proclamation announcing the event of Mr. Gaorishankar having entered upon the life of an ascetic, recounting his past actions, and paying a well-merited compliment to his exemplary public services and his still more exemplary life and character. The proclamation concluded by directing the closing of all public offices in Bhávnagar for two successive days in memory of the event. By none more keenly was his retirement felt than by the Bhávnagar Darbár, to whom his advice on all occasions was most valuable, as being most disinterested. His English friends in Kathiáwád

and elsewhere, who had worked with him and who, knowing his worth and character, set a high value on his judgment and opinions, also regretted it. His retirement made a great impression in Kathiáwád. One high English official, who was Mr. Gaorishankar's colleague in the Joint Administration of Bhávnagar, and who had long enjoyed his friendship, on hearing of his resolve, wrote back to him in most feeling terms. Another European gentleman, Mr. Macnaghten, who presides so worthily over the education of the Rájkumárs of Kathiáwád, wrote to his eldest son, Mr. Vajéshankar Gaorishankar, in the following terms :—

"I thank you very much for your letter of the 13th, communicating to me the kind message sent by your good old father. I value it greatly, as I have always valued and respected his opinion. Your letter has touched my heart. It is hard to think that we shall have no more intercourse with him in this world; that one whom we so much respected and loved is withdrawn from us for ever. But, indeed, we know that this mortal life—the pomp and vanity of the world which is seen—is not the end of all

things: that there is another life beyond the veil—a higher and a nobler one—into which our eyes cannot penetrate. It is that higher immortal existence, the joy of unseen immortality, which he, your good father, is seeking now. And we may feel happiness in knowing he will find it—for I cannot doubt, as sure as I am of my own existence—that such a good life can only end here to complete itself in the good and in God. He will not be lost to us altogether, for his name and example will be honoured and remembered for many years in his loved Saurástra. Certainly, there is no man now alive who can rival him in the general admiration and esteem of the people of Káthiáwád. I wish I could send him my best respects, but you will accept them in his stead."

Mr. Gaorishankar has two sons, who are worthily following in the footsteps of their father. The eldest of them, Mr. Vajéshankar, for long Naib or Deputy Dewán of Bhávnagar, is now the Financial Member of the Council of the State. His labours have contributed greatly towards the formation of an archæological Collection and Museum in Bhávnagar. The

Collection abounds in ancient MSS., coins of the oldest dynasties in India, stone and copper-plate inscriptions, carvings, fossils, and unique works in the Sanskrit and Pali languages. The other son, Mr. Prabhashankar, is also actively employed in the State as Superintendent of State expenditure. It is scarcely necessary to say that both these worthy sons of a truly worthy father, having the example before them of his eminently successful career, are endeavouring to follow it up by such honest work in the State as cannot fail to merit recognition at the hands of their royal master.

CHAPTER VII.

MR. GAORISHANKAR AS SWÁMI SACHCHIDÁNAND.

In the preceding chapter it has been stated that in response to farewell letters addressed to numerous friends on the eve of his entering the holy order of a Sanyási, Mr. Gaorishankar and his son, Mr. Vajéshankar, heard from them, giving their views upon the step thus taken. We also quoted one of these letters. It would, however, be not quite correct to say that the other friends of Mr. Gaorishankar took the same view as the writer of the letter already quoted. Mr. E. H. Percival, for instance, who had worked with the ex-Dewán for nearly six years as Joint Administrator of Bhávnagar, and who knew Mr. Gaorishankar most intimately, hearing this news, wrote to Mr. Vajéshankar Gaorishankar, under date the 18th November, as under :—

"I did not at once answer your dear father's farewell letter, although I was very much touched by it. I could not make up my mind to felicitate him on his withdrawing his loving

heart and great intellect from the world in which God had placed him, before the time when the same Power which gave him those talents shall have taken them back. It seems to me to be an innovation of man, and not of God, to see merit in leaving the world and our duties therein. If it is a merit to leave it when old, why not when young? No; good old men are as valuable in the world as good young men, and have no more right to deprive it of their experience than the young have to cease their work. I do not know to what extent your father still talks about his former friends; but I beg that you will, as far as may be, express my respect for him and my sorrow at having to say 'farewell.' He has done a good life's work, and you and your children may be proud of his memory."

Colonel J. M. Hunter, replying directly to Mr. Gaorishankar from Manekwádá, Káthiáwád, under date the 12th July 1886, wrote:—

"I received your letter informing me that you had decided to retire from worldly affairs and become a Sanyási with surprise and pain. It is the last thing I should have expected of a man of your strong common sense, and I was grieved

because I feel sure your active and keen intellect will only fret in the unnatural condition you propose to live, and go into your grave earlier than would have been the case if you had continued a useful member of society in the place where God had placed you.

"I never could see the virtue of the Sanyast condition, not only so but I am convinced it is morally wrong and displeasing to God. A man has no more right to do it than to commit suicide. The highest life is to faithfully fulfil one's duty in the position God has placed one in; the happiest life is to forget one's self in one's efforts to benefit one's fellow-creatures. You are abandoning a post where you are still useful to the State and a source of pleasure and happiness to your friends, and you are forgetting your friends and intend to place yourself in a position where you can only think of yourself. If you wish to know more of God, you should study his works, not hide yourself from them. You owe it to the State whose interests you have so faithfully furthered, to the friends who will miss you so much, and to yourself who will, I know, be miserable as a Sanyási, to re-consider

your determination. I write this in the earnest hope that it may have some effect in making you change your purpose. Put it off and consult your best friends on the subject. It is too serious a step to be taken so hurriedly. I hope to hear you have taken my advice."

The good Sir William Wedderburn, an old friend of Mr. Gaorishankar, and who took the liveliest interest in him, thus wrote from Poona, under date the 13th July 1886:—

"It is with very great regret that I have learnt from you the news of your failing health. You also tell me that you purpose now to retire from worldly cares and duties, and to withdraw into the condition of Sanyast. We must all feel deeply the loss of your wise advice and valuable experience. Indeed, I regard your retirement as a national loss. At the same time, you are no doubt taking this important step after careful consideration, and I trust that after giving so many well-spent years to the service of your country, you will find much religious consolation in the life you are adopting."

And, last, though not least, is the following from his friend and fellow-worker in the Joint Admini-

stration of Bhávnagar for a good while—Colonel J. W. Watson. Writing from Rajkote, under date the 10th July 1886, the good Colonel said:—

"I am very sorry to hear that we are going to lose you from the active world, and that you are going to become a member of the world of religious contemplation and become a Sanyási. You will be a great loss to the Bhávnagar Durbar and all your friends, and to none more than myself. We have worked together as Joint Administrators of the State and have known each other for many years. I need hardly say I shall always take a sincere interest in hearing good news of you."

These European friends of Mr. Gaorishankar were doubtless right from the standpoint from which they looked at the matter. They had common sense and worldly wisdom on their side. No country or community of men can well afford to dispense with its old men who combine in themselves the experience and wisdom of years. Mr. Gaorishankar, however, looked at the question from a different standpoint altogether. He was not unwilling to give to the Ruler of Bhávnagar, and to those around him engaged in the administration of the State, the benefit of his

advice and judgment. But the question with him of all others was this: He had done a good life's work, having for full 56 years devoted his great intellect and good heart to the service of his master and the interests of the State, and had earned well-merited repose. Even in his retirement into private life, he had shown himself ever ready to forward the cause of good government. In his green old age he thought he had now left to him a few hours of the evening of life. Those few hours he wished to devote exclusively to the service of his Maker and to the contemplation of those problems of life and mind which were vividly brought to his notice by his study of the Vedántic philosophy. His mind had attained to a state of what is called '*Tívro vairágya*,' of blessedness of dispassion, which made him think that in this world he owned nothing and he desired nothing. It must be borne in mind, again, that when he decided to become a Sanyási, his state of health appeared so precarious that he did not expect to live long. It was better, he thought, that he should cut himself adrift from this world and die a holy death as a Sanyási than as a worldly man. It was a

mode of life best suited, according to him, to the attainment of the highest end he had in view. If, after this renunciation of worldly concerns, it pleased the Almighty to give him a longer lease of life, that would be no bar to the attainment of his object. In the exercise of power, in the enjoyment of riches, in the esteem of his fellowmen, in the favour of his successive royal masters, in the good opinion of his Native and European friends, and in the high respect in which he was held by the British Government, he had perhaps attained to a measure of worldly happiness to which few men in his state and in his position could lay claim. But his soul soared higher and yearned after something more exalted, namely, that peace of mind which he looked for in vain in the stormy world of external phenomena. He sought for a different environment. In the inner consciousness of his soul he sought for a refuge from those irresistible external forces which carry a man with abrupt transition from the heights of joy to the depths of sorrow. These influences would work upon him as they would work upon any other person through *Avidyá*, or ignorance of what was the highest good. But having over-

come this *Avidyá* by a knowledge of the highest good, the vital question of the hour with him was, how best to live in the blessedness of holy knowledge? To that vital question he had but one answer to give—an answer that alone could satisfy his mind. That answer was in the words of the "Mahábhárat":—

While yet thou are respited, care
For things unseen, for death prepare,
And sunk in meditation deep,
The fruits of holy knowledge reap.*

Thus his ethic of *Sanyás* or renunciation consisted in an attempt to reap the fruits of holy knowledge, and thereby attain to that state of blessedness on which his soul was bent. This condition he considered to be most natural to him, most morally right and most pleasing to God :—

Let men all worldly language quell,
And, sunk in contemplation, dwell
On th' inmost, deepest truth of things,
From which the spirit's freedom springs.
Composed and calm, ascetics feel
No longer outward woe and weal:
Within themselves enclosed they rest,
And self-sufficing, live most blest.

* *Muir's Metrical Translations from the "Mahábhárat,"* p. 23.

Their state resembles placid sleep,
'Mid men who troubled vigils keep.
'Tis as,—when winds by night repose,—
A lamp's clear flame unflickering glows,
And thus as seasons onward roll,
The saint, with meagre fare content,
On deep self-contemplation bent,
Within himself beholds the soul. *

Many friends of the Swámi have often made enquiries as to how he fares in his fourth stage of Bráhmanhood. Some particulars, therefore, of his mode of life and of the way in which he spends his time, will, it is hoped, interest a great majority of them.

In the first place, it may be remarked that the Swámi has carried into the holy order those habits of order, regularity and punctuality which characterised his conduct as a worldly man, —habits which had, in fact, become his second nature. As a Sanyási, Swámi Sachchidánand has regular hours for study, religious contemplation, and performance of the ordinary functions of life. Of the 24† hours which make up day and

* *Ibid.*, p. 48.

† Swámi Sachchidánand is an early riser, and, unless indisposed, gets up generally at 4-30 every morning. He has stated hours for each specific work as under:—

night, he devotes 6½ hours to rest (5½ hours at night and one hour during the day), 10½ hours to Vedántic study and religious contemplation, 3½ hours to bathing, washing, etc., and 3½ hours to receiving visits. His audience includes European as well as Native gentlemen.

Swámi Sachchidánand never leaves his abode (Áśram) which is situated in a garden-house

4-30	A.M. to	5-30	A.M.	Religious thoughts in bed.
5-30	,, ,,	6-30	,,	Washing and bathing.
6-30	,, ,,	7-30	,,	Performance of the daily duties of a Sanyási.
7-30	,, ,,	8-30	,,	Hearing lectures on the Vedánt philosophy.
8-30	,, ,,	9- 0	,,	Breakfast.
9- 0	,, ,,	10- 0	,,	Receiving visits.
10- 0	,, ,,	Noon		Vedánt Kathá.
Noon	,,	1-30	P. M.	Rest.
1-30	P.M. ,,	3- 0	,,	Discussion on Vedántic problems.
3- 0	,, ,,	5- 0	,,	Hearing Pandit's lectures on the Vedánt.
5- 0	,, ,,	7- 0	,,	Receiving audience and visits from H. H. the Thakor Saheb or other gentlemen, Native or European.
7- 0	,, ,,	7-30	,,	Refreshments.
7-30	,, ,,	9- 0	,,	Religious meditations.
9- 0	,, ,,	4 30	,,	Sleep.

in the suburb of Bhávnagar, that is to say, outside the limits of the old City. He takes his food once a day at 8-30 in the morning. He lives on the scantiest fare, just enough to keep body and soul together. His food consists of boiled Tur Dâl (*Cajanus indicus*), cooked rice, ghee, and vegetables, the whole scarcely exceeding perhaps 12 ounces in weight. At about 7 o'clock in the evening he takes a little congee of sago rice, boiled in water and mixed with milk. His usual time for Vedántic study and religious meditation is from half-past-seven to half-past-eight in the morning, and from three to five o'clock in the evening. When, however, some learned Vedántic scholar, or a Sanyási of great renown, or a Vedántic preacher of eminence, or a Mahátmá from remote parts of India, such as Benares, Śringéri, Nuddea, or Badrikáśram on the Himalayas, is attracted to Bhávnagar, and preaches to the Swámi, the hours of lecture suffer disturbance. On these occasions the Audience Hall of the Swámi's Áśram becomes necessarily thronged with the crowds of people that assemble.

The Swámi receives visits from gentlemen,

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Native or European, desirous to see him. The hours set apart for such visits are 9 to 10 o'clock in the morning, and 5 to 7 o'clock in the afternoon. Complete seclusion in his case would be scarcely possible. The love and esteem in which he is held not only in Bhávnagar, but in Káthiáwád, is so great, the purity of his motives and the righteousness and lofty elevation of his character stand so confessed, and have inspired such reverence for him, that to be debarred even for a day from the privilege of his audience would be regarded by the people of Bhávnagar as little short of a calamity. Nor is such seclusion strictly enjoined by the Hindu Shástras on one whose renunciation takes the form of a *Vidvad Sanyás*, that is to say, whose entrance into the holy order has been preceded by the acquisition of the knowledge of the Brahma. He is accordingly open to visits from all during hours which do not interfere with the performance of his religious duties. Some people have looked upon this as inconsistent with the life of a religious Sanyási, and are prone to regard him more as a political Sanyási; but numerous authorities from the Shástras and precedents, founded on the

lives of eminent Sanyásis, may be cited in justification and support of the Swámi's procedure. He receives the visits of His Highness Mahárájá Takhtsingji, the Thakor Saheb of Bhávnagar, whenever His Highness has occasion to seek his opinion and advice, and these are freely tendered to him. Again, no gentleman of position who happens to be attracted to Bhávnagar misses an opportunity to see the Swámi and pay his respects to this Grand Old Man of Káthiáwád. In December 1886, H. E. Lord Reay, the Governor of Bombay, paid a visit to the Swámi during his stay in Bhávnagar. For fully an hour His Excellency was closeted with the Swámi. And from the way in which Lord Reay spoke of this visit in the public speech which His Excellency made soon after at the opening of the Sámaldás College, it appeared that the interview had made a lasting impression upon His Excellency. 'We may all congratulate your Highness,' said Lord Reay in that speech to the Thakor Saheb, 'in having succeeded to your State after it had been administered by such a man. * * The success of that Dewán was due not so much to increasing the import-

ance of the State or to the embellishment of this town, but to the fact that he aimed at improving the condition of your Highness' subjects. In developing the country, in having a survey made over your dominions, he laid the foundation of that system of land revenue and that system of tenure, which in India is the corner-stone of administrative efficiency, *viz.*, to secure to the ryot that fairness of taxation to which he is entitled, so that he may reap the fruit of his labour.' One who knows how to elicit information from the Swámi is in a position to learn most from him and to benefit highly by his conversation. His mind is a magazine of information which he can recall at pleasure. In this lies the charm of a few hours' talk with him.

CHAPTER IX.

PERSONAL VIEWS ON THE RELATIONS OF THE KÁTHIÁWÁD STATES WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

"If I were asked," says Sir Arthur Helps, "to point out the men who, in my experience of public affairs, have shown the most remarkable competency for the conduct of business, they would, in several instances, prove to be men of very limited education. One of the principal qualifications for the conduct of business is decisiveness, and surely no one will contend that decisiveness is of necessity promoted by the acquisition of knowledge in youth."* Sir Arthur Helps wrote this, of course, with special reference to men chosen by competitive tests for the Civil Service of England; but the remark nevertheless holds true of the many able native gentlemen in India whose successful

* "Thoughts on Government," by Sir Arthur Helps, 1872, p. 65.

administration of Native States has been testified to by British officials appointed to watch the affairs of these States. Very few of these men can boast of the education which distinguishes, for instance, a gentleman like Raja Sir T. Mádav Ráo. In the case of the great majority of men now administering Native States, it may be said that they have passed their middle age, and that the means of acquiring knowledge in their youth were very limited. This is true, at all events, of Mr. Gaorishankar. At the same time, it must be confessed that in his case, want of a knowledge of English was by no means an effectual bar to his success as an administrator in the then existing circumstances of the country. He entered political life at a period which was actually a turning point in the history of British relations with Káthiáwád. British influence in that Province in the early part of the present century had scarcely been established or begun to be felt. Indeed, Colonel Walker's Settlement of 1808, fixing the tribute payable by the Chiefs of the Province, was accepted by them, but a great deal had to be done to see the terms of the settle-

ment carried out. Meanwhile, the Province was decreasing in prosperity. It suffered from famine, plague, cholera, outlawry, and the incursions of dacoits or marauders from Cutch and the Runn. All these carried off a third of the population and left the Chiefs in debt and difficulty. How to bring about the payment of the British tribute, as settled by Colonel Walker, was a sore question with the Chiefs on the one hand, and how to enforce it was a serious matter with the British officials on the other. To take charge of their talukás, to farm such talukás to persons under British control, while paying a certain amount to meet the expenses of the proprietors, was to exercise a degree of interference with the domestic affairs of the Chiefs which could not fail to drive them to despair and cause endless quarrels between them and their farmers. Was it possible for a handful of British officials to manage the details of the administration of so many small Chiefs? The task was hopeless. It was accordingly decided by the Government of Mountstuart Elphinstone to leave each Chief to his lands, requiring him to assign a

portion of them just enough to cover the British tribute to some banker, who should be held answerable for the punctual payment of the tribute to the British Government.

It was in this connection that Mr. Gaorishankar's political self-education, as well as the self-education of the British officials employed in Káthiáwád, began. The representatives of the British Government, shrewd and able though they were, were quite new to the Province. They had to learn everything concerning the condition of the people and their Chiefs and concerning their relations towards each other and towards the British Government from trustworthy men like those in the position of Mr. Gaorishankar. On the other hand, Mr. Gaorishankar was one of the few keen-witted men of his time who, perceiving and recognizing the changes going on about him in thought, opinion, or action, shaped his course in accordance with those changes. He was brought into contact with British officials of high position and character like Captain Barnwell, Colonel Lang, Colonel Keatinge, and others. This contact enabled him to learn a great deal of the views

and policy of the British Government in those days in a way which did not fail to make a deep impression upon him. He learnt to admire their energy, their devotion to duty, their love for a settled government, for a government by law in place of a government by the will of the ruler, and their desire to conciliate the people and their Chiefs. Their example exercised a reflex influence over his mind. It generated in him extended sympathies for his people and a certain catholicity of thought. In short, the company of those early pioneers of British authority in Káthiáwád impressed him with the spirit of their policy and with a higher notion of what was due from his Chief and from himself as Dewan to those over whom his master ruled. This knowledge indeed re-doubled his energy for work on behalf of the State whose salt he ate; but the initial difficulties in the way of improving its condition were great if not insuperable. His first great difficulty was the indebtedness of the State. We have seen by what laborious efforts he got over this. His other great difficulty was the regaining of the civil and criminal

jurisdiction over the 116 villages of the State. No one who looks back at the history of this question, who knows how he was baffled in his successive attempts to obtain a fair hearing for the claims of his royal master, can fail to sympathise with his disappointments, and heartily to congratulate him on the final success he obtained in securing for the State that justice from the Secretary of State for India which was its due. There are, perhaps, few instances of this kind in the annals of political achievements in Native States which redound more to the credit of honest native ministers on the one hand, and to the glory of the British Government on the other for simple acts of justice than the achievement of so patriotic an object. No reward was too great for services of this kind. Even a more influential man, the late Sir Salár Jung, be it remembered, was baffled in his attempts to obtain for the Nizam's Government the restoration of the Berars. If Mr. Gaorishankar had done no other service to Bhávnagar than this, it alone was sufficient to make the successive generations of rulers of Bhávnagar grateful to him for all

time. And be it said to the credit of the Bhávnagar Chiefs, from Thakor Vajesingji down to His Highness Sir Thaktsingji, that they have all felt themselves indebted to the personal interest and care evinced by Mr. Gaorishankar in all that concerned the welfare of the State, whether it was the restoration of the 116 villages, the improvement of the harbour to afford increased facilities to the trade of Bhávnagar, the construction of the Bhávnagar-Gondal Railway, the supply of pure drinkable water to the capital, the construction of many public works necessitated by civilized administrative agencies, or the introduction of an improved system of land revenue.

To Mr. Gaorishankar no knowledge concerning the needs of the State, no information calculated to promote the material and moral welfare of the people of Bhávnagar came amiss. He was a keen observer of all that he saw and of all that had human interest. His extended sympathies, and his love of justice and fair play, led him to associate in the administration of Bhávnagar intelligent men from different castes and sections of the people who were found

qualified for the different offices in the State. He hated nepotism—the rock on which young and inexperienced Dewans are apt to lean—in order to strengthen their party. At the same time it is an acknowledged fact that, however honest and clever an administrator of a Native State may be, it becomes an extremely difficult task for him—and the difficulty is known to him alone—to carry on his work without the help and co-operation of competent officers whom he knows, and on whom he can implicitly rely. Mr. Gaorishankar, while amply recruiting his men from the community of Nágars—a class naturally intelligent and hereditarily trained in administrative work—never withheld his patronage from other classes whence well-qualified men could be drawn, thus freeing himself from any charge of nepotism or undue favouritism which is usually laid at the door of irresponsible native administrators. He took care to enlist the services of the intelligent members of the Bania, Kunbi, Parsi, European, and Mahomedan communities in the government of the State. By this wise distribution of offices he won the confidence and sympathy of all

classes constituting the Mahajan in Bhávnagar.

While Mr. Gaorishankar thoroughly appreciated the advantages of the contact into which he was brought with the British Agents in Káthiáwád, and was prepared at all times to co-operate with them in works of improvement, he nevertheless felt that of late years the Native States of Káthiáwád, along with those of other parts of India, had to submit to an unfair sacrifice of their financial independence in matters which mainly concerned the interests of British monopoly revenue. The three important questions which have injuriously affected the fiscal independence of Native States are those connected with opium, salt, and abkári. He has never ceased to believe that the ostensible object of the measures proposed by the British Government for regulating the consumption of opium and salt in Káthiáwád was the increase of British revenue from those sources. He considered the policy which dictated these measures to involve an unwarrantable interference on the part of our Government with the internal affairs of these States, and

distinctly opposed to the assurance originally conveyed by Colonel Walker.* Relying on the thorough sincerity and good faith of this assurance, Mr. Gaorishankar found it difficult to reconcile it with the new departure initiated by Lord Lytton, at the instance chiefly of Sir John Strachey, in the fiscal policy of the British Government, whereby the Native States of India had fresh burdens placed upon them avowedly for the purpose of making them contributories to the Indian exchequer. To the expansion of the British opium revenue, for instance, the restriction, or, more accurately, the cessation of exports of opium from the ports on the coast of Western

* In his Report, dated the 30th April 1808, concerning the settlement of the Peshkashi payment by the Chief of Bhávnagar, a settlement which is admittedly common to all the States in Káthiáwád, Colonel Walker laid down most distinctly that this Peshkashi "does not, however, give any right on our part to interfere in the internal concerns of the Bhávnagar territory. In this respect the Chieftain of Bhávnagar still retains every right he previously possessed undiminished by the transference of his tribute to the Company. These rights consist in the exercise of every species of authority within his own territories, either of a revenue, fiscal or judicial nature."

India was essential, since the opium so exported competed with the monopoly drug in the Chinese markets. By allowing their ports to be closed to the opium traffic, Káthiáwád and Cutch did the British Government a service which enabled the latter in course of time to raise the pass-fee on Málwá opium from Rs. 125, at which it stood at first, to Rs. 700 per chest, at which it stands at present. The history of each successive step taken in the raising of pass-duty on Málwá opium is the history of the assistance cheerfully afforded by the States of Káthiáwád and Cutch during the early period of the British Indian trade with China, when the Government stood sorely in need of such help. The question occurs, what was the consideration accorded by the Government of India to those States for this help? The footing upon which the Government of India then stood was such that it could only have exercised a moral pressure on the coast States, and that these States might fairly have exacted, if they had chosen to do so, a very *substantial* recompense from the Government of India as the price of their help—a price which, looking to the magni-

tude of the interests involved, the Government of the day would scarcely have deemed it worth their while to refuse to pay. But not only has the sacrifice so generously made by these States been thought to be of no account by the Government, but it seems to have been held that it is within the discretion of the British Government to levy pass-fees even on opium *consumed within the local limits* of the territories of those States; and that such levy is the price which the subjects of Native States are bound to pay for the advantages of living in States protected by the British Government! These arguments, however, take no account of past services, no account of the fact that, until so recently as 1878, Káthiáwád *did* receive *duty-free* opium. In 1874-75 it was authoritatively remarked that the supply of opium to Káthiáwád was *free of the pass-fee* of Rs. 600 per chest.*

* In the Bombay Administration Report for 1875-76, we find this admission repeated in the following words:—"The opium to this province (Káthiáwád) is issued free of pass-fee." The Report for 1876-77 contains the following words:—"The opium is issued to the province of Káthiáwád free of pass-fee charges." Such authoritative admissions, however, end with this Report.

The utmost which the British Government, after repeated appeals, have been so far able to do towards remedying this glaring injustice is to allow the Káthiáwád and Cutch States a drawback amounting to one-third of the pass-fee, which, on Rs. 700 per chest, comes to Rs. 233⅓ per chest. But while the coast States are thus allowed one-third of the pass-fee in the shape of a drawback, the inland States of Gujarát enjoy the *full* exemption of Rs. 700 on account of this very pass-fee. Why there should be such unequal treatment in the case of the coast and inland States, when, from their geographical situation, it would appear that Káthiáwád and Cutch States were relatively of greater importance than the inland Gujarát States, so far as the intercepting and prohibition of untaxed opium is concerned, does not appear clear. The arrangements concluded, whereby the British Government are enabled to obtain a yearly revenue of four lakhs of rupees from Káthiáwád on account of opium for internal consumption in the Province, appeared to Mr. Gaorishankar as scarcely fair to the Native States of Káthiáwád and Cutch.

So also the measures for the equalisation of salt duties and the abolition of the inland customs line in Northern India rendered it necessary that arrangements should be made with the Native States of this Presidency, similar to those made with the States of Northern India, or modified by the circumstances of the States in this Presidency. It is well known that Káthiáwád and Cutch possess on their coast lines and in the interior of their territories extensive natural salt works. Salt from such works was not only consumed within their territories, but used to be exported by sea. Not until 1875, however, was the attention of the Government of Bombay directed to this subject. All that was done till then by the authorities in Gujarát was to see that Káthiáwád salt was not imported into the British frontier tálukás of Gogo, Dhandhuká and Veerámgaum. In 1875 Mr. Pritchard, the Commissioner of Customs, Opium, and Salt, urged upon the Government of Bombay the necessity of preventing Káthiáwád salt from being imported into British territory; whereupon a guard-line was established from Bávaliáli to Rádhanpur.

It is a noteworthy fact that, except Dhrangá-dhrá, all States in Káthiáwád produce what is called *ghasia* or fine-grained natural salt. In the British territory the salt consumed is of the kind known as Varágadá, so that the existence of ghasia salt in khálsá or British territory would be an indication of its being a contraband importation, and this the frontier line guard would be quite capable of preventing. This arrangement accordingly continued in force till 1878, when the losses on account of the Afghan War having caused a drain on the finances of the Government of India, every possible retrenchment that could be thought of was suggested, and among the various measures brought forward to that end, one was the abolition of this frontier line which cost the Government about a lakh of rupees annually. But the removal of the preventive line could not be carried out without detriment to salt revenue unless arrangements were entered into with the Native States of Káthiáwád for either purchasing their salt works or acquiring such a control over their works as would prevent the cheaper salt of the States being imported into British

territory. To negotiate these arrangements the Government of Sir Richard Temple sent Mr. Carey in 1879 to Káthiáwád and Cutch. Mr. Carey placed Colonel Barton, the Political Agent of Káthiáwád, in possession of the views of Government in respect to this new departure in their policy. Colonel Barton invited the Vakils or Agents of the chief States and told them the object of Government, which was to save the yearly cost of a lakh of rupees incurred in keeping up a frontier guard-line, and, while doing so, to see that Káthiáwád salt was not imported beyond the frontier line into British territory. Two courses were suggested as open to the States to carry out the object of Government. One was the surrender of all their salt works by the Chiefs of Káthiáwád entirely to the British Government, as was done by the States of Rájputáná and Northern India, on receipt of a cash payment, either in lump sum or annually, as might be agreed upon. If this proposal did not meet with the consent of the Chiefs, an alternative plan was put forward. This was that the Chiefs should consent to sell salt within their territory at

rates equal to those prevailing in British territory, and should allow their salt works to be under the supervision of the officers of the British Salt Department,—in short, that they should surrender their rights over their works to the British Salt Department. Mr. Carey went further and remarked that, as successors to the Peishwa, the British Government had every right to dictate such terms. But when, in course of argument, it was pointed out that the Peishwa Government had never so much as even interfered in the domestic concerns of the Native States, but cared only for the collection of their Moolukgiri ; that if such interference as had been alleged was actually exercised, Col. Walker could not have remained silent with respect to so important a privilege as this, but that the fact of his studied silence on the subject was perhaps the best proof that there was nothing to support the contention of Mr. Carey. Baffled in his argument and unable to point to chapter and verse in support of his contention, Mr. Carey urged that the Chiefs of Káthiáwád were not greater in power and dignity than those of Rajputana ; and that when

the latter had quietly surrendered their salt works to the British Government, it was not proper for the former to offer resistance to the proposals of Government. But the Vakils replied that they had no information before them as to the terms on which the States of Rajputana had agreed to make over their salt works—nothing to show what motives had induced them to enter into those terms. Col. Barton and Mr. Carey accordingly reported to Government that they could not succeed in getting the Chiefs to agree to their proposals. All that the Chiefs agreed to was to see that their preventive arrangements were placed on a better footing. Meanwhile, Col. Barton went on furlough to Europe. His successor, Col. Wodehouse, was directed by the Government of Sir Richard Temple to once more use his influence with the Chiefs. But while an arrangement which, if put into force, would have been little short of discreditable to both parties, was in course of being formally submitted to Government and about to be sanctioned by it, Sir Richard Temple retired from the governorship of Bombay. Meanwhile, through the efforts of

Sir Theodore Hope, who maintained that Káthiáwád was a foreign territory with the internal affairs of which the British Government could not interfere, the attempt to coerce the Native States into parting with their rights or to regulate the price of salt as Government desired, was ultimately abandoned, much to the satisfaction and joy of the Chiefs of the Province.

The establishment of the Rájasthanik Court in Káthiáwád, with a view to adjudicate in the disputes between the Chiefs of the Province and their Bhayads and Mul-Girasias, which has done so much to suppress outlawry in Káthiáwád, was in no small degree due to the exertions and influence of Mr. Gaorishankar, cordially aided by the late Azam Gokulji Sampatrám Zálá and the Karbharies of the other first class States in settling the constitution of the Court and framing rules for its practical working.

CHAPTER X.

General Estimate of Mr. Gaorishankar's Character.

No just estimate of the character of a native statesman like Mr. Gaorishankar can be formed which leaves out of account the considerations as to what are or should be the legitimate aims of native statesmanship and how far an individual possessed of power in a Native State has succeeded in fulfilling those aims. In the relations of the British Government with the feudatory States of India, there is perhaps no point of such vital importance as this. The principles which should guide native statesmanship in native administration have never been formally enunciated in any single State paper, but are found scattered here and there in official letters, despatches, and State papers, and in the public speeches and addresses of Viceroys and Governors-General of India to Native Chiefs on important occasions

It has sometimes been said that the Native States had no right to exist; that they exist at present on sufferance. But the importance of Native States and the necessity of their existence as an integral part of the Indian Empire was at no time better illustrated than during the period of the Indian Mutiny. Emphatic testimony on this point has been borne to the uses of Native States by Lord Canning. In his despatch, dated Simla, 3rd April, 1869, he wrote:—

"In the time of which I speak (*i.e.*, 1857-58), these patches of Native Government served as breakwaters to the storm which would otherwise have swept over us in one great wave. And in quiet times they have their uses. Restless men who will accept no profession but arms, crafty intriguers held up in Native Courts, and others who would chafe at our stricter and more formal rules, live there contentedly; and should the day come when India shall be threatened by an external enemy, or when the interests of England elsewhere may require that her Eastern Empire shall incur more than ordinary risk, one of our best mainstays will be found

in these Native States. But to make them so, we must treat their Chiefs and influential families with consideration and generosity, teaching them that, in spite of all suspicions to the contrary, their independence is safe, that we are not waiting for plausible opportunities to convert their territory into British territory, and convincing them that they have nothing to gain by helping to displace us in favour of any new rulers from within or without."*

The late lamented Lord Mayo attempted to lay down some of the principles which Native Princes should aspire to work out in the government of these States in an address he gave in 1870 to the Princes and Chiefs of Rajputana who had assembled to meet him at Ajmir. The following extract from the speech shows what he expected the Native Princes to do†:—

"I, as the representative of the Queen, have come here to tell you, as you have often been told before, that the desire of Her Majesty's Government is to secure to you and your

* The Native States of India. By Lord Ripon, p. 7.

† Life of the Earl of Mayo. By Sir W. Hunter, Vol. I., p. 207.

successors the full enjoyment of your ancient rights and the exercise of all lawful custom, and to assist you in upholding the dignity and maintaining the authority which you and your fathers have for centuries exercised in this land."

"But in order to enable us fully to carry into effect this fixed resolve, we must receive from you hearty and cordial assistance. If we respect your rights and privileges, you should also respect the rights and regard the privileges of those who are placed beneath your care. If we support you in your power, we expect in return good government. We demand that everywhere throughout the length and breadth of Rajputana justice and order shall prevail; that every man's property shall be secure, that the traveller shall come and go safely; that the cultivator shall enjoy the fruits of his labour and the trader the produce of his commerce; that you shall make roads and undertake the construction of those works of irrigation which will improve the condition of the people and swell the revenues of your States; that you shall encourage education and provide for the relief of the sick."

To assure the Chiefs of Rajputana what the motives of the British Government were in asking the Native Princes to do this, Lord Mayo observed*:—

"Be assured that we ask you to do all this for no other but your own benefit. If we wished you to remain weak we should say:—Be poor, and ignorant, and disorderly. It is because we wish you to be strong that we desire to see you rich, instructed, and well-governed. It is for such objects that the servants of the Queen rule in India, and Providence will ever sustain the rulers who govern for the people's good."

"I am here only for a time. The able and earnest officers who surround me will, at no distant period, return to their English homes; but the Power which we represent will endure for ages. Hourly will this great Empire be brought nearer and nearer to the throne of our Queen. The steam-vessel and the rail-road enable England, year by year, to enfold India in a closer embrace. But the coils which she seeks to entwine around her are no iron fetters,

* Hunter's Life of the Earl of Mayo, Vol. I., p. 208.

but the golden chains of affection and of peace. The days of conquest are past; the age of improvement has begun.

"Chiefs and Princes, advance in the right way, and secure to your children's children and to future generations of your subjects the favouring protection of a Power who only seeks your good."

No man can gainsay the wisdom and good feeling which dictated these noble words of warning and advice. The leading principles of Lord Mayo's policy in dealing publicly with the Native States of India were: —

I. Non-annexation and a fixed resolve that even the misrule of a Native Chief must not be used as a weapon for aggrandising our power.

II. But a constant feeling of responsibility attached to the British Government, as suzerain, for any serious misrule in Native States; and a firm determination to interfere when British interference became necessary to prevent misgovernment. Such interference to consist not in annexing the territory, but in displacing the Chief and

administering by British officers or a Native regency in the interest of the lawful heirs.

III. Non-interference, and the lightest possible form of control, with Chiefs who governed well. Lord Mayo tried to make the Indian Feudatories feel that it rested with themselves to decide the degree of practical independence which they should enjoy, that that degree would be strictly regulated by the degree of good government which they gave to their subjects.*

Unquestionably correct and eminently sound as these leading principles underlying the relations of the British Government with Native States are, Lord Mayo was not unaware of the evil as well as of the good of the feudatory system. Referring to the inevitable inconsistencies which the system involved, he wrote :— "Our relations with our Native Feudatory States are on the whole satisfactory, though they are by no means defined. We act on the principle of non-interference, but we must constantly interpose. We allow them to keep armies for the defence of their States, but we

* Hunter's *Life of Lord Mayo*, Vol. I., pp. 214-215.

cannot permit them to go to war. We encourage them to establish Courts of Justice, but we cannot hear of their trying Europeans. We recognise them as separate sovereigns, but we daily issue to them orders which are implicitly obeyed."* Lord Mayo was of opinion that the mixture of "*laissez faire*" and "niggling interference" must be done away with, and the Chiefs must be told what they will be allowed to do and what they will not be allowed to do. But his idea was that to commence all this a *man* was wanted. "Personal influence," said he, "is still in India the most potent engine we have at our disposal. In fact, I find that no man who does not possess it has any chance of succeeding with a Native Chief."† But while fully appreciating the value of personal influence, his great difficulty was to see whether such personal influence was rightly exercised. He insisted that such influence should be exercised on principles intelligible to the Native Chiefs, and that the largest freedom should be left to

* Hunter's *Life of the Earl of Mayo*, Vol. I., pp. 209-10.
† *Ibid.*, p. 212.

them in the actual details of the administration so long as that freedom was not abused into an instrument of misrule. "Nothing is more injudicious," he wrote, "than perpetual meddling in the affairs of Native States." The golden rule he laid down sixteen years ago is of such invaluable use even at the present moment that it may be useful to give it here in the words of Sir William Hunter:—

In his personal and social relations with the Feudatories he made them realize that the one path towards the Viceregal friendship was the good government of their territories. The Indian Foreign Office strictly regulates the official courtesies of a Governor-General to each prince, and these regulations Lord Mayo accurately observed. But he made the Native Chiefs feel that beyond such State ceremonial there was an interior region of intercourse and kindly interest and to no one else. He led them to see that his friendship had nothing to do with the greatness of their territory, or their degree of political independence, or the number of jealously counted guns which saluted them from our forts. These considerations regulated his State ceremonials; but his private friendship was only to be won by the personal merits of their character. By his conduct he practically said to each: "If you wish to be a great man at my Court, govern well at home. Be just and merciful to your people. We do not ask whether you come with

full hands, but whether you come with clean hands. No presents that you can bring can buy the British favour; no display you may make will raise your dignity in our eyes; no cringing or flattery will gain my friendship. We estimate you not by the splendour of your offerings to us, nor by the pomp of your retinue here, but by your conduct to your subjects at home. For ourselves, we have nothing to ask of you. But for your people we demand good government, and we shall judge of you by this standard alone. And in our private friendship and hospitality, we shall prefer the smallest Feudatory who rules righteously to the greatest Prince who misgoverns his people."*

Lord Mayo knew full well that natives of India, princes as well as people, are very conservative. In his zeal for reforming Native States, therefore, he did not think that the customs and habits of thought of ages could be changed in a day. And accordingly "he realized that the process by which an Indian State casts its old skin of anarchy is a slow one, and that the operation is not helped by perpetual interference from without. Where he saw real improvement going on, he was willing to wait. He thought, moreover, that until everything had been done to render the English surveillance in a Native State as efficient as possible, he had

* Hunter's *Life of the Earl of Mayo*, Vol. I., p. 213.

no right to complain of the Chief. He held that the Suzerain Power was bound to see that the misrule of a feudatory arose in no part from a vacillating or weakly-officered British Residency; and that before blaming a Native Chief for governing ill, it was necessary first to see that the Indian Foreign Office placed him in the best possible circumstances for governing well. This view took a firmer hold of his mind as his Indian experience increased.'"* In recent times the need of keeping this rule constantly before the mind by our Political Department in its relations with the Chiefs of Káthiáwád is too manifest to need dwelling upon in this place.†

We have quoted at some length the views of Lord Mayo, not only because they admirably lay down the principles on which the British Government expect the feudatory Princes of India to act in the government of their States, but because the conduct of Mr. Gaorishankar in the administration of Bhávnagar, which had at that time met

* Hunter's *Life of the Earl of Mayo*, Vol. I., pp. 221, 222.

† It is right to mention here that it was an extreme case of misrule in Alwar which drove Lord Mayo to interfere in the affairs of that State, and appoint a Council of Regency.

with the approval of Lord Mayo, was based more or less on the lines on which the Viceroy thought that the Native Administrations should work. It was during Lord Mayo's Viceroyalty that the principle of joint administration during the minority of its Native Chief was, for the first time, carried out in Bhávnagar. Sir William Hunter testifies to the success of this experiment when he says :—An experienced Native Minister and a picked member of the Civil Service were selected by the Bombay Government as its joint rulers, and they quickly converted it into a model of prosperity and firm administration."*

Mr. Gaorishankar's claim to be remembered by the people of Káthiáwád rests on the remarkable influence he has exercised on the political history of the Province for the past half century as the Chief Minister of Bhávnagar during the reign of four successive Chiefs ; on the fact of his having been the virtual maker of the modern State of Bhávnagar, and on his being the statesman "whose career in its strength and sagacity is a worthy object of

* *Life of the Earl of Mayo*, Vol. I., p. 221.

study and emulation to the men of his order."* During all this period he has stood out as a distinct personalty in the Province, and inspired respect and confidence alike in the minds of the representatives of the British Government in Káthiáwád as in the Princes and people of the Province.

The reason of his great influence in the Province is to be found in the belief of Mr. Gaorishankar that while the British Government, by its great military strength, protects a Native State from external aggression or internal disturbance, it has a right to see that the State does not suffer from mal-administration, that its subjects do not suffer from acts of cruelty or oppression on the part of its ruler, and that they enjoy that liberty of action and that protection to life and property which form the distinguishing features of the policy of the British Government. It was on these principles that his action throughout was based, and the success he achieved as an administrator was, no doubt, due to a strict adherence to them. It is to the comfort and happiness of the people

* Speech of Sir J. B. Peile, *vide* p. 82.

which resulted from the pursuance of these principles during a long period that this popularity is due.

The boundless enthusiasm that his name inspires among the people of Bhávnagar is noticeable from the vast crowds that go to pay their respects to him even now when he is in retirement as a Sanyási. The secret of this charm lies in the fact of his having invariably identified himself, whether in or out of office, with the dearest interests of his State. Loyalty to his master and devotion to the best interests of Bhávnagar were the watchwords of his administrative career. Known as an outspoken advocate of his State, he has been held in high respect by the political authorities in Káthiáwád, on account of the singular integrity of his character. The history of Káthiáwád anterior to the establishment of British protection records the names of many Nágar politicians who had no inconsiderable share in shaping the administration of its different States. Colonel Walker, for instance, mentions the names of Dewans Amerji, and Runchodji, and Dulabhji, who formed a *corps diplomatique* whom

it was by no means easy to match. But their diplomacy, though fertile in resource, was not, it would appear, of a very high order. In recent Káthiáwád history no two Nágar politicians have come more prominently to the front than the late Azam Gokulji Sampatrám Zálá and Mr. Gaorishankar Údayashankar. For Mr. Gaorishankar to have maintained his policy, his principles, and his prestige intact and unstained by a single wrongful or questionable act during an unbroken period of fifty-five years, for him to have retained the esteem and confidence of each successive ruler of Bhávnagar on the one hand and of the Political Agent of Káthiáwád for the time being on the other, during all that time, shows vigilance, tact, and a degree of political courage and sagacity which were very rare in those days. Those only can appreciate the full significance of the cautious reforming minister's labours and of the liberal measures he carried with a view to place Bhávnagar in the front rank of the Native States of Káthiáwád, who had known the Bhávnagar of a generation back and who can compare it with the Bhávnagar of the present day.

When Mr. Gaorishankar assumed the Dewanship of Bhávnagar, the area of the State was nearly 1,700,000 acres, with a population of about 300,000, and a yearly revenue of Rs. 8,00,000. When he retired into private life, the territory of Bhávnagar extended over an area of 1,800,000 acres, its population was 425,000, and its revenue Rs. 32,00,000. But over and above these incontestable facts, we have a living witness of Bhávnagar's former condition and recent growth, whose testimony is most valuable. This witness is no other than Major-General R. H. Keatinge, V.C., C.S.I., who was Political Agent of Káthiáwád in 1863. He visited India two years ago in connection with his duties as a member of the Board of Directors of the Bombay, Baroda, and Central India Railway Company. The Chiefs of Káthiáwád, learning of his presence in this country, invited him to visit the Province which was the scene of his former labours. In a Durbar held in his honour at Rajkote, they presented him with an address. Colonel Wodehouse, who presided on the occasion, in addressing General Keatinge and bringing to his mind some of his old friends in

Káthiáwád, observed :— " Amongst others in Káthiáwád who, as having been much connected with you and a warm admirer of yours, I may mention Azam Gaorishankar Údayashankar, formerly Dewan of Bhávnagar. When you were here he was an old man, and I believe he is now over 80 years old. Though he has retired from the world, he has by no means lost his interest in current events, and his son has written to me at his request saying how he is looking forward to seeing you at Bhávnagar." In the address subsequently presented by the Chiefs to General Keatinge, they dwelt on the far-seeing, sympathetic, and benevolent policy which General Keatinge had adopted in the discharge of his duties when in Káthiáwád, the friendly relationship which he maintained with the Chiefs, and the steady support he gave to the maintenance of their dignity and power and the consolidation of their territories. In replying to the address, General Keatinge remarked :— " The interest of my visit is greatly enhanced by the long interval that has elapsed since I left Káthiáwád. I find many great works completed that were not even contemplated

twenty years ago, and, what is still more valuable, I find that the education and travels of the Chiefs have naturalised in the Province many wants and necessities of civilization which were not acknowledged when I lived amongst you."* General Keatinge was at Rajkote when His Excellency Lord Reay invested H. H. the Maharaja of Bhávnagar with the insignia of a Grand Commander of the Star of India. He formed one of the Governor's party that visited Bhávnagar about the middle of December 1886. At Bhávnagar General Keatinge's thoughts turned to his old friend, Mr. Gaorishankar.

* It may not be out of place here to mention that Col. Keatinge showed how true a friend he was of the Chiefs of Káthiáwád when he, while complimenting them on the progress they had made, pointed out to them earnestly what yet remained to be achieved by them. The advice is too full of thought and good sense and too serious to be omitted in this connection. "I must not forget, however," says General Keatinge, "that our whole business here is not merely to exchange compliments. I am going to tell you a few things which strike me as important for you to know. On my way here this morning I was sorry to find how little attention was paid to forest conservancy. I saw not a single forest or plantation in all that long distance, whereas, for instance, between Choteela and Ranpur there is much land useless for cultiva-

On the 17th December, he, accompanied by Mrs. Keatinge, had an interview with the ex-Dewan in retirement at his *Asram* or hermitage. While Mrs. Keatinge was occupied in examining the Museum in the adjoining room which contains a good collection of old coins, manuscripts, and curiosities, the General was turning over his reminiscences of Káthiáwád with his venerable

tion, but well fitted for forest. I hope some attention will in future be paid to this subject. The principal dangers of native Indian administration lie in the possibility of their action being misunderstood, when cases occur placing them in antagonism with some class of their subjects. These antagonisms are easy to avoid and the misconception easy to overcome exactly in the degree to which rulers have assimilated their machinery of administration to that employed by the Paramount Power. No rules, no regulations can take the place of real justice, no formality can replace honest hard work, and, above all, nothing can supply the want of true sympathy with the wants and aspirations of subjects. But you, Chiefs and Nobles of Káthiáwád, who have gone out of your way to express your friendship for me, you will not resent my urging you to continue moving with the times, and to adopt in your lives, in the advancement of your States, and most especially, in your courts of justice the most essential improvements of European policy. As to public works, remember that means of communication can alone neutral-

friend. The following are the impressions he records in the book of visitors to the Museum :—

"I have seen the Museum with great pleasure, but I have not been able to give my attention to it as I should have desired, as my thoughts have been full of my old friend, Gaorishankar, and of how he is to spend his days of retirement. I am not satisfied to see him living in a room. He ought to live in a garden with one or two rooms attached. In the room nothing grows, and there is no object to love. If he transfers himself to a garden he cannot but watch the plants, and in their growth and their youth forget his own age.

ise the effects of bad seasons. Easy communications can alone make it possible for the agriculturist to sell with profit when a bumper season gorges the local market. Then, again, means of rapid communication are essential to a ruler who, by that means alone, can place his distant possessions at his door, control his officers, and detect and remedy any injustice which may be going on at a distance. The stigma Káthiá-wád, with most of India, has borne for the last two hundred years has been want of progress. From what I have seen around me, however, I can congratulate this Province, which, perhaps, I love best of all I know in India, on having thrown off that reproach."

I could not live in a palace, but I sometimes think that I could be happy even if shut up in a small garden, and a large one would soon become a world full of life and death and all the changes incidental to growth and necessary to happiness and forgetfulness of self."

It will not be out of place to refer here to a point which has often suggested itself to reflecting minds in connection with the good government of Native States. When a Native State is known to be exceptionally well-governed for a certain period, the circumstances will be found to be due in the main either to the existence of a minority administration appointed by the British Government, or to the fact of the State having enjoyed the advantages of a capable Minister or Dewan. But a minority administration cannot evidently endure for an indefinite period, nor can the capable minister live for ever. The State must in due course of time pass into the hands of its rightful owner. The important question is, what are the guarantees for permanent good government in a Native State on the minority administration ceasing to exist or the successful minister being no longer at the head

of affairs? What is there to assure the subjects of the State that the good policy or influences hitherto at work will continue? In the typical case of Bhavnagar, it may well be asked what is there to secure for it a succession of Gaorishankars as Dewans? To this, perhaps, it will be replied that the British Government provide, both during the minority administration and otherwise, for the training of its young Chief in those qualifications which make him a cultivated and polished gentleman. But this cannot cure the evils of despotic rule, cannot control the exercise of absolute power. The temptations to this exercise of arbitrary will are too great to be ordinarily resisted. The present rulers of Native States are passing through a period of transition, the final outcome of which it is not easy to foresee. An eminent Anglo-Indian statesman, who possessed exceptional opportunities of observing the position of Native Princes, says:—"In such times as these the position of a Native Prince is one of singular difficulty. The temptations to which he is exposed are enormous; his means of self-indulgence are almost unlimited;

he can find plenty of persons, as courtiers in all countries too often are, to play upon every weakness and encourage every vice. To the vices indigenous to a Native Court he can add those which are more characteristic of English society, and, especially if he comes young to power, he is tempted on every side. Nevertheless, I am happy to say that I could easily point to many Native Princes of great promise who are devoting themselves honestly to discharge the duties of their position.* No doubt English education is doing and is expected to do a great deal for them by way of inducing well-ordered habits. But the traditions born of centuries of absolute and despotic rule cannot be easily got rid of. And the present condition of Native States, as described by the same high authority, is this: 'Broadly speaking,' says the late Viceroy of India, 'all the territories of Native Princes and Chiefs are governed despotically, though there exist varieties in their constitutional arrangements, and much

* The Native States of India: a paper read before the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. By the Most Honourable the Marquis of Ripon, K. G., p. 24.

difference in the position and power of the subordinate Chiefs and Nobles, varying rather with the personal character of the prince than resting upon any legal foundation. The prince is legislator, administrator, and too often supreme judge also; he taxes the people and spends the revenues at his will; and when he is a strong and able ruler, all power is concentrated in his hands. You might naturally be inclined to suppose that under such circumstances there would be a distinct tendency on the part of the population of Native States to prefer the law-regulated rule of the British Government to this arbitrary administration of Native Chiefs, and a theory of that kind was often put forward in the days of annexation to justify the absorption of Native States. I watched carefully for any indication of such a feeling during the time that I was in India, but I cannot say that I ever saw anything which led me to believe in its existence. I do not doubt that people living under a bad native Government may at times wish that they were British subjects, but the general impression left upon my mind was that the inhabitants of a tolerably well-governed native State preferred to

live under their own prince and would regret a transfer to British rule. Men who value the freedom of speech and of writing, and the certainties of the law which are enjoyed by Her Majesty's own subjects in India, may deplore their comparative absence in Native States, but the body of the people are attached to the rule of their hereditary Chiefs, whose methods of government are often more acceptable than the impartial but inexorable rule of British law."*

Every word of this is undeniably true. But it is a fact, at the same time, that the remarkable spirit of change and of progress which is every day more and more observable in British India is not without its effect on the subjects of Native States. The rulers of Native States cannot shut their eyes to the influence of this new spirit, which must and does extend to their territory, and the wise amongst them cannot help considering that it must constitute an important factor of their internal administration. The problem is whether the present exercise of despotic rule should not give way to a law-regulated rule. No native prince has as

Ibid, p. 24.

yet volunteered to limit his authority by constitutional regulations, so that in all essential points the absolute will of the ruler, or of his adviser for the time being, governs the action of the State. No doubt when things go to extremes, the interposition of the British Government tends in a measure to palliate the mischief, but the object is to avoid the necessity of such interference.

That no efforts in the direction of introducing constitutional government in Native States have hitherto been made even by capable ministers of those States is clear enough. Even in the larger States of Hyderabad, Gwalior, Indore, and Baroda, all that the efforts of men like the late Sir Salar Jung, Raja Sir T. Madava Rao, Sir Dinkar Rao, and Mr. Raghunath Rao have done is to keep to the old traditions of administrative policy, and to show large cash balances as evidence of their flourishing condition. It may be too much to expect Mr. Gaorishankar to achieve that which his more eminent contemporaries have hardly succeeded in accomplishing, but the problem is one worthy of the serious consideration of those who are interested in

the stability and welfare of Native States. Its consideration is all the more necessary, because, as a shrewd native observer remarks, with reference to Native States generally, "the personal character of the administration is no whit altered, and no steps are taken to ensure a succession of Sir Salar Jungs or Raja Sir T. Madava Raos and Sir Dinkar Raos. It is no wonder that under these circumstances there is no earthly guarantee that the varnish of reform will stick to the State edifice after they are removed from power; and the chances are that, by a spirit of reaction, a Chandulal, or a Nana Saheb Khanvilkar, or a Bhau Sindhia will undo in a year all the good accomplished by his predecessor in a lifetime. We think the times demand that this uncertainty should cease, and that the weal and woe of Native States placed on a surer footing than the shifting sands of the personal caprices of their rulers."* That the reform is earnestly called for admits of no doubt. It is also unques-

* See an article on a "Constitution for Native States" in the Quarterly Journal of the *Poona Sarvajanik Sabha* for January 1880, Vol. II, No 3, page 2.

tionable that this reform must come more from within than from without, and that the British Government should lend every support to its being carried out. We by no means underrate the difficulties connected with the carrying out of it. But half the difficulty of the task will be overcome if the rulers of Native States will volunteer to limit their authority in a constitutional manner. But will they do this? In India, as in other Asiatic countries, the root idea of government is the absolute will of the Sovereign. This principle of despotism has been recognised by the customs and proclaimed by the law of the land. The forms and traditions of despotism have varied under different ruling dynasties and at different periods of history. At one time they have been mild, at other times they have been harsh. Under the early Hindu system of government, the Code of Manu, the earliest expositor of the law and customs of India, accepts the patriarchal family as a primary fact in the history of society. From this it becomes the unit of a larger natural group, namely, the village community, when the family takes to agriculture the pur-

suit of nine-tenths of the population of India. In process of time this village community becomes, as Sir Henry Maine has shown, the source of a land law which may not unfairly be compared to the law of real property in England. It crystallises the relations of the State with the agricultural community. According to Manu, the king was entitled to a share, generally one-sixth, of the produce of land; he was not absolute proprietor of land. The brothers and relatives of the king had a portion of this share of the produce allotted to them by assignments in consideration of certain services which they were bound to render. This patriarchal system is analogous to the feudal system of Europe. It obtained during the early Hindu period in India. It is still current among the Hindu or Rajput States of India. The Chief is the recognised head of a clan of Rajput Bhayads or brotherhood, who often enjoy in the aggregate in some places one-third of the whole revenue of the State. He is *primus inter pares*—the first among equals. Thus the Rajput rule in India is based upon feudal principles. States governed by Rajput

Chiefs have the germs in them of a constitutional system ready to hand. No doubt the system is rough-hewn, but it cannot be difficult to evolve out of it a constitution suited more or less to modern ideas.

In the history of India, however, it would appear that this system of patriarchal government gave way to a purely despotic system under the Mahomedan rule. According to the Kuran the king is the absolute proprietor of land. All private property in land exists by his sufferance. This Mahomedan theory, and the corresponding Mahomedan practice had, according to Sir Henry Maine, put out of sight the ancient view of the sovereign's rights, which, though it assigned to him a far larger share of the produce of the land than any Western ruler has ever claimed, yet in no wise denied the existence of private property in land."* But it is not in respect of land alone that autocracy and despotism have worked out their legitimate results in Asia. The same causes have broken up European States. Russia and Turkey, the greatest despots, are both in danger of de-

* Village Communities in the East and West, p. 104.

struction, Russia from revolution within, and Turkey from forces without. The Native rulers of India, it is true, have not to reckon with external forces. But any protection which they receive from the British Government in this respect evidently imposes upon the British Government the responsibility of seeing that the subjects of Native States do not suffer from oppression or misgovernment. The introduction of a law-regulated system of administration would doubtless obviate, in a large measure, the necessity of constant interference on the part of the British Government. What this constitution should be is a very large question, to the merits of which we cannot enter here. What we wish to urge in this place is that the paramount necessity of a constitution which focusses the triple authority of the Chief, his minister or Dewan, and the Political Agent, should be practically recognised and a beginning be made in the direction of introducing it tentatively. *

* The Bhavnagar Durbar has recently introduced the experiment of a Council of Administration, of which the Maharaja is the President, and the Dewan, Mr. Vithaldas

Having so far dwelt upon the aspect of Mr. Gaorishankar's life which had to deal with the vast and complex organisation called the State, let us now turn to those personal characteristics which afford a glimpse of his character as a man.

Though eighty-four years old, Mr. Gaorishankar is in possession of mental faculties which still retain their old vigour. His memory is still powerful. His mind is a storehouse of past experiences which he is able to recall at pleasure. In the freshness of light which he throws on the topic before him lies the charm of his conversation. Talk to him about a previous Governor of Bombay who had visited Káthiáwád and whom he had seen, talk to him about a former Political Officer of Káthiáwád whom he had known, and you are placed in possession of past reminiscences that give you an insight into the character of that Governor or that Political Officer. Perhaps no living native statesman of Káthiáwád has ever, in

Sámaldas, and Heads of Departments, such as Mr. Vajeshankar Gaorishankar, Mr. Muncherji Merwanji Bhavnagri and Mr. Proctor-Sims are members. The result of this experiment is being keenly watched.

course of business or otherwise, been brought to the personal notice of the Governors of this Presidency as Mr. Gaorishankar. He possesses the rare advantage of having known personally Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir John Malcolm, Sir George Clerk, Sir Bartle Frere, and Governors of Bombay from Sir Seymour Fitz-Gerald to Lord Reay. Regarding most of these Governors he would enliven his hearers by short and pithy anecdotes which cannot but impart point and liveliness to his conversation.

But while full of experience, and courteous to all, he has never been subservient. He never concealed his real thoughts about men and measures. As illustrating the boldness of his character, it may be mentioned that many years ago, when Mr. Gaorishankar was in office, he learnt that the Government of Bombay contemplated appointing to a responsible charge in Káthiáwád a raw English youth who had but just come to India. The young man had great interest to back him. He happened to be the son of a member of the Government of the day. Undaunted by this knowledge, this old man of Káthiáwád called upon the Honourable Member of Council, and, in

course of friendly conversation on Káthiáwád affairs, complained of the inconsistency in the policy of the Government in regard to appointments of English officers to administrative posts in the Province. He put it to him whether it was fair that, whereas in the regulation districts of this Presidency, Government hesitated to place a fresh arrival from England in charge of magisterial duties on account of his inexperience and want of familiarity with the customs and usages of the people, they should feel no such hesitation in entrusting the very gentleman with a charge over the lives and liberties of hundreds of people in the non-regulation territory, where the need of such knowledge of the habits, customs, and usages of the people was infinitely greater. Such was the confidence felt in his judgment, and so great was the respect for his word, that the contemplated appointment was cancelled. On another occasion, Mr. Gaorishankar learnt that a certain Káthiáwád official was about to be appointed to a certain high office where his well-known proclivities and freaks of disposition were likely to have full play. Mr. Gaorishankar

hastened to Bombay, represented the matter to the Governor of the day, and so thoroughly convinced him of the inexpediency of making the appointment that the intention was abandoned.

His chief strength is to be found in this exemplary private character—

His words are bonds, his oaths are oracles ;
His love sincere, his thoughts immaculate ;
His tears pure messengers sent from his heart ;
His heart as far from fraud as heaven from earth.

So faultless, so spotless, so sacred has been his private life that his relatives and friends as well as those who were associated with him in the business of the State, while he was minister of Bhvánagar, feared lest their weak points, moral or social, should ever reach the ears of the old man. It was not to be wondered at that the good opinion of so stern a disciplinarian should be held in high esteem when it is remembered that such opinion was a passport to honour and preferment, not merely in Bhávnagar, but in the whole of Káthiáwád. He was a constant referee of many Chiefs, zamindars, nobles, and bhayads in the province. What made his advice so valuable to all was its singular disinterestedness and the transparent

purity of his motives. The reverence he enjoyed in private and domestic life was due to his patriarchal character. His influence was found to be invariably and unerringly exerted in putting an extinguisher to private feuds and disagreements among a wide and widening circle of relatives, friends, and members of his caste. To promote harmony among them he often made personal sacrifices. He also proved himself to be a friend of the needy and the helpless, of genius and talent struggling to rise. He often asked himself in what respect was life worth living if it was not to be a blessing? And this made him—

> Reflect that life, like every other blessing,
> Receives its value from its use alone;
> Not for itself, but for nobler end
> Th' eternal gave it, and that end is virtue.

It has been a matter of regret to him that his incessantly busy worldly career left him little time for the study of Sanskrit in youth. And though in retirement as a Sanyási, he is doing his best to make up for what he considers past neglect, the love he bears to Sanskrit literature is unbounded. It is scarcely necessary to say that he does not look with complacency on that change in the character of

the rising generation which marks a shaking or losing faith in the sublime purity of the old Aryan religion as taught in the Upanishads, and the exegetic works of Śankaráchárya. It has been his wish to see brought about all over the country a revival of Vedic study. His sons, anticipating his desire, have recently established an institution for the study of the Vedas and the encouragement of Vedic literature, and called it "The Gaorishankar Veda-Shálá," after their illustrious father's name. The scope of the Institution has yet to be fully developed.

In a previous chapter we have referred to those points in the character of Mr. Gaorishankar as Swámi Sachchidánand which have a general interest for the reader. Looking back upon the incidents of his life thus sketched out, one cannot help thinking that by the right use of the powers which God gave him he has placed the rulers and people of Bhávnagar upon a much higher level than that which they occupied before. "Theirs," says Dean Church, "is indeed a great and enviable lot to whom it has been given to make this short interval of our mortal life brighter, easier, happier, and who have carried on the

work of the elder and unknown benefactors of their race,"* but if Swámi Sachchidánand has not fulfilled this ideal of mortal life by magnificent achievements, he has at least done this, he has set the example to all future generations of Káthiáwád of a life marked by a deep sense of duty and responsibility in high office—a life animated by enthusiasm for work, ruled by self-discipline, guided by purity and simplicity of soul, and devoted to the good of his fellow-countrymen, a life of sacrifice, one which he is prepared to resign when it is time to give it up. In short, he has lived the life of a great and good man, the life of a saint, who only awaits the hour of his departure, as behoves one in his position, according to a noble sentiment in Manu:

> Let not the hermit long for death,
> Nor cling to this terrestrial state;
> Their Lord's behests as servants wait
> So let him, called, resign his breath.†

* Human life and its conditions. By the Rev. R. W. Church, Sermon I., Supremacy of Goodness, page 28.

† Muir's rendering of the following Śloka from Manu, VI., 45:—

न.भिनंदेत मरणं नाभिनंदेत जीवितम् । कालमेव प्रतीक्षेत निर्देशं भृतको यथा ।

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